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Set Mahet.—By W. HOEY.

INTRODUCTION.

The following notes originally formed a report on the excavations and explorations conducted by me at Set Mahet during the cold weather of 1884-85, under the orders of the Local Government, at whose disposal the Maharáni of Balrampur had placed Rs. 5,000 for the purpose. Work did not commence until the 15th December 1884. Operations of excavation continued up to about the middle of May 1885. Unfortunately more than one-third of the money at my disposal had to be expended upon cutting the dense jungle which covered the site.

Once the jungle had been cut I fixed on certain prominent features and laid out lines which the labourers, who were distributed into gangs, were required to follow under the supervision of gangmen. The result was that I have been able in the case of Mahet to lay out some of the general outlines of the city, the gates and the main street of the eastern part, and I think I have determined what the chief mounds in that quarter represent. I have also found some buildings, both Jain and Hindu, in the western quarter, and have opened up the mound of Somnáth. Outside the city, I have shown what Baghela Bári and

Kandh Bári are. I have also explored the smaller mound near Ora Jhár, called Panahiya Jhár, and have shown what it was. The large mound of Ora Jhár I have left practically untouched. I have examined the buildings outside the Imliya Darwáza, the western gate, and found a large number of seals and other remains there, but the uses of the buildings are still problematical, and we can only surmise that they formed an apron to the fortified gate.

As to Set, erroneously spelt by previous writers Sahet, I explored it more fully, and I would refer to the full details and plans which I give. Here I need only say that my explorations at the octagonal well show beyond doubt that the lowest present level of the surface of the Jetavana site is at least thirteen feet above the original garden-surface. This fact will of itself show how vast an undertaking the exploration of this venerated ruin is. I regret now that I did not confine myself to this alone.

The maps and plans which I have prepared are numbered and are as follows:—

1. General map of Set Mahet.
2. Map showing location of Ora Jhár and Panahiya Jhár with reference to the city.
3. Map showing outline of both Ora Jhár and Panahiya Jhár irrespective of relative location.
4. Plan of the old Buddhist building in the mound near Kandh Bári with the later Hindu shrine crowning it.
5. Plan of Set, showing all buildings opened up and trenches cut by me.
6. Plan of building No. 1 in Set.
7. Plan of Gandha Kutí.
8. Plan of Kosambha Kutí.
9. Plan of buildings Nos. 17, 18, 19 in Set.
10. Plan of buildings Nos. 21, 22, 23, and 24 in Set.
11. Plan showing the so-called octagonal well, and the pillar and stupas near it.
12. Sáriputta's stupa.
13. Plan of Mahet South, showing Broad Street and part of the line of shops.
14. Plan of Mahet East, showing Saiyad Míran's Dargáh, the Pakka Kutí, the Kachcha Kutí, and Angulimála Stupa.
15. Plan of Pakka Kutí.
16. Plan of Kachcha Kutí.
17. Plan of Mahet West.
18. Plan of Somnáth.

19. Plans of two Jain temples.

20. Plan of the Hindu temple.

The text falls naturally under five heads :

1. An historical sketch, a compilation of whatever data we have to go upon, whether history or legend. It will be found to contain something readable, if not very valuable, in the passages referring to Saiyad Sálár's invasion and the translation of the popular ballad relating to the episode at Bahraich, containing references to Set-Mahet.

2. A general review of places outside Set and Mahet and an explanation of the General Map.

3. An account of the explorations at Set.

4. An account of those at Mahet.

5. A stone inscription from Set.

PART I.

General Historical Note.

The ruins of Set Mahet stand on the west bank of the Rapti, where that river crosses the boundary between the modern districts of Bahraich and Gonda in the province of Oudh. Local tradition connects with it Suhel Deo, one of the opponents of Saiyad Sálár, and this would bring it into touch with one of the earliest episodes of Moslem invasion and aggression during the period of Muhammadan supremacy, but the place has, as far as we know, played no part in later history. Yet it had associations, political and religious, for Hindu, Jain, and Buddhist more than a thousand years before the founder of the Muhammadan faith was born. Over the history of this long period of religious, social, and political revolutions a veil is spread, lifted at but a few and long intervals, when we see the city the centre of political life and religious movement. At other times we seem to penetrate the veil, but not until we have a broader and more intimate knowledge of Sanscrit and Pali literature, and of the peoples lying north of Oudh, shall we be able to fill in the outlines of its history.

Before stating anything as to the result of recent explorations, I have thought it both advisable and regular, to bring together in a connected form all that I have been able to gather of historical fact, and perhaps of legend, as a basis of operation. This will show both the data we have to guide and the matter we have to illustrate.

The name Set Mahet has been, as it seems to me, erroneously, supposed to be a rhyming word formed according to common usage, on the analogy of 'ultra-pulta' and similar words. The Set alone is then taken to be a corruption of Sawatthi. Some people finding the word

'set-met' meaning 'topsy turvy,' and seeing its resemblance to Set Mahet, have supposed that the place as a great ruin has been so called in allusion to its upheaval, which tradition says occurred on Suhel Deo's fall. The people on the spot tell the story and the curious fact exists that they call the Jetavana mound Set. The settlement map first prepared after the annexation calls it Set, and the patwáris of the neighbourhood preserve the name. This is of vast importance, for the name Set Mahet, which is the correct spelling as I have ascertained, is wholly different from the word 'sent-ment' which is suggested as its derivation, and the name would obviously have been not Set Mahet, or Sahet Mahet, but Set Met if this derivation were correct. The name Sahet Mahet hitherto applied by those who follow General Cunningham must be discarded. It seems to me that Set is a corruption of Sawatthi and that it probably came to be applied eventually by visitors to the Jetavana, as it was the chief attraction after the decline of the city, which, though larger, was but a decayed ruin, and was less attractive to the pilgrim. The city was then probably known as Sawatthi Mahati, the larger Sravasti, and this, having been curtailed locally to Mahati, became corrupted to Mahet.

The name which the city bears in Sanscrit, Srávasti, is said to have been given to the city by its legendary founder, Saravasta, who is represented to have been a king of the Solar dynasty: but this may be set aside for the more obvious derivation, the 'pleasant city' or 'city sacred to Sri' [Sraya Vasti], implied in its fame as 'the city of the seven precious things' and thus sacred to the goddess of wealth and plenty. A remarkable passage occurs in the 'Romantic History of Buddha' [Beal, p. 11], where Buddha is consulted prior to his conception as to the place where he would elect to be born. Savatthi is proposed, the capital of the kings of Kosala. Buddha declines the suggestion, saying: 'The kings of Kosala have descended from Matañgas [probably we should read Malangas] "both on the mother's and father's side, of impure birth: and in former days they were of small repute, without any personal courage or nobleness of heart: the country comparatively poor: although there are *the seven precious things* there, yet they are in no abundance. Therefore I cannot be born there."

It is, I think, equally fallacious to attempt to establish a connection between the name of the city and the name of the river. The Pali name of the Rapti is Aciravati, which still survives in the softened form of Ahiravati, which the river bears in its course through the hills, a name which reappears as Irrawaddy in Burmah. The Sanscrit form of the name is Airavati. Thus the Sanscrit words Sravasti and Airavati stand corresponding to the Pali Savatthi and Aciravati, and it is not easy

to see how in either case the name of the city could have been derived from that of the river. The connection of any of these with Savitar the sun-god is equally unobvious. I have only to add that Fa Hian calls the city Shewei while Hwen Thsang calls it Shylofasiti.

It has been supposed that the city mentioned by Ptolemy under the name of Sapolis is Sravasti. The suggestion has arisen probably by taking the Pali Sa and joining it to the Greek—polis (city) as a substitute for—vasti—vastu—vatthi. However neat this conception may be, I think we must discard it. Ptolemy mentions four cities: Boraita (*v. l.* Boraila), Sapolis, Eorta and Rappa, lying west of the river Sarabos. We know that Sarabos is the Sarayu or Ghágrá which appears in Pali as Sarabhu. It seems that Ptolemy received the Pali form and wrote Sarabos as the Greek equivalent, but the position of the four cities with reference to the river forbids our taking Sapolis as a rendering of Savatthi. The four cities must, I think, be looked for in the Ganges—Ghágrá Duáb.

The earliest data which we have connected by tradition with Sravasti are derived, according to some, from the poetical accounts of the Aswamedha of Yudishthir given in the Mahabharata and the Jaimini Bharata or Jaimini Aswamedha. Unfortunately I have not a copy of the former at hand, but I have consulted what purports to be a Hindi rendering of the latter. To it therefore I confine myself, and I must correct a mistake into which General Cunningham and Mr. Benett have fallen when they accepted a lame tradition and gave a line of Gauda or Gonda rajas:

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|------------|-------|---|
| A. D. 900. | 1. | Mayura-dhwaja or Mora-dhwaja. |
| | 925. | 2. Hansa-dhwaja. |
| | 950. | 3. Makara-dhwaja. |
| | 975. | 4. Sudhanwa-dhwaja. |
| | 1000. | 5. Suhil-dal-dhwaja (contemporary of Mahmud). |

The Jaimini Bharata mentions several kings and their kingdoms into which the famous steed Shyamkaran found his way. Among others he came to the country of Raja Hansa-dhwaj whose capital was, as given in the Jaimini Bharata, Champakapuri. Local tradition has transformed the name to Chandrikapuri. Arjun was commanding the force which followed the horse. Hansa-dhwaj was for submitting to a peace, but he was overruled by his queen, who said Krishna would come and a view of the divine being be vouchsafed in the battle. The king had two sons, Surath and Sudhanya, who both perished in the fight, but the latter left his wife pregnant and she bore a son, Bibek, who continued the royal line. The contest was in truth unequal from the first, as might be expected when Arjun was aided by Krishna. The king's army

fled and he ordered his ministers, Sankh and Lakhit, to prepare cauldrons of boiling oil and to throw into them all who turned from battle. Sudhanya had gone to take leave of his mother and wife, and the latter detained him in love. He was late in joining his father, who ordered him to be thrown into a cauldron of oil, but he came out of the seething fluid unscathed, entered the fray and perished. I think we cannot accept the identification of Champakapuri with Set Mahet, as the capital of Kosala in the days of Yudishthir and the Mahabharata. The capital of Hansadhvaj was probably Bhágapur in Bengal.

Srāvasti emerges into full light in Buddha's lifetime about 500 B. C. We then find Prasenajit, son of Aranemi Brahmadata, ruling here as king of Kosala. He was probably of about the same age as Buddha. He was twice married. His first wife was Varshika, a Kshatriya princess, by whom he had a son named Jeta. His second marriage was probably a *mésalliance*. The woman whom he married Mallika, was not a Kshatriya. By her the king had a son Virudhaka who succeeded him. She was also probably mother of Seger Sandalitu, a son of Prasenajit, who is said to have been elected ruler of Tibet and to have been the first king of that country.

The marriage of Prasenajit and Mallika was an event of much importance and, being the origin of one of the most important events in Buddha's life, must be noticed here. The Sakya Mahánámán of Kapilavastu was Buddha's paternal uncle and of course a Kshatriya. He brought Chandra, the orphan daughter of a Brahman steward, to live in his house and help his aged wife. She is said to have been in the habit of weaving pretty garlands of flowers and so Mahánámán called her Mallika, the 'wreath-girl.' I think it not unlikely that the name betrays a connection with the Mallas, and that the story about the garlands is merely a *fabula e nomine*. Anyhow, one day Prasenajit came to Kapilavastu during a hunting excursion, saw her in Mahánámán's garden, fell in love with her and eventually married her. The fruit of this union was Virudhaka. At the same time Prasenajit's *purohita* was presented with a son, Ambharisha, who became a close friend of the young prince. On one occasion, when the two youths were on a hunting expedition together, they came to Kapilavastu, and entered the Sákya's park. The offended Sákya spoke of Virudhaka as the son of a slave, alluding to his mother's origin, a Brahman attendant in a Kshatriya household, and Virudhaka was so incensed that he vowed to exterminate the Sákya after his father's death. When Virudhaka ascended the throne, he organized an expedition against the Sákya of Kapilavastu, but Buddha went out of Srāvasti and stopped his advance, as will be explained hereafter. The threat was, however, executed

subsequently with too terrible cruelty. I shall return to this narrative again.

It cannot be inferred from the fact of a raid being made by a king of Srāvasti on the Sákya of Kapilavastu, Buddha's native place, that the latter were independent of the king of Kosala. The Sákya were, like the royal house of Srāvasti, Kshatriyas, and their position was somewhat that of a clan living in federated subordination to the greater power of the Kosala sovereigns. Suddhodana, Buddha's father, though spoken of as a king, was probably not more than a powerful taluqdar of modern days, who happens to be not only a large landholder but also the head of a much-ramified brotherhood.

It is highly improbable that Buddha visited Srāvasti before he attained enlightenment. We may safely say that he did not. During Buddha's early residence as a teacher at Rájagriha, Sudatta, a wealthy merchant of Srāvasti, came on a visit to a householder of Rája-griha who gave a feast in Buddha's honour. During his stay, Sudatta, who was already a man of exemplary humanity and charity, known as 'the feeder of the orphan and the widow' (anáthapindada), visited Buddha, and under his teaching became a lay follower. Sudatta then invited Buddha to come to Srāvasti, but Buddha demurred as there was not a vihára at Srāvasti. Sudatta offered to provide one and Buddha promised to come when it had been provided.

Sudatta returned to Srāvasti and procured a site for the construction of a vihára. King Prasenajit's eldest son, Jeta, had a garden or park, which Sudatta fixed upon and proposed to purchase, but the prince declined to sell it unless enough gold coins were paid to cover the ground required. Sudatta complied and had covered nearly all the ground when Jeta, stirred by the sacrifice which was being made, declared himself satisfied and asked to be allowed to retain the part which was left. On it he built a vestibule, which he presented to the Order, when Sudatta presented the vihára which he had built on the rest. When the ground had been procured, Sudatta, went again to Buddha and asked him to send one of his disciples to superintend the erection of the vihára. Buddha deputed Sáriputta who came to Srāvasti and encountered much opposition from the members of other Orders, but he eventually converted them and they joined the Buddhist Sangha.

Buddha came to Srāvasti when the building was complete and spent the *was* of the third year of his ministry here. He named the place by two names and gratified both donors: *Jetavana* after the prince and *Anáthapindadáráma* after Sudatta. King Prasenajit visited Buddha and heard a sermon which led to his conversion. His fifth *was* was passed by the Blessed One at the Jetavana, and out of the remaining forty-six

years of his life, the lenten seasons (*vas*) of about one half were spent at Srāvasti, either here or in the Purvārāma.

Visákha, one of the sons of Prasenajit's prime minister (Mrigadhara), was married to Visákhá, the daughter of the banished minister of the preceding king, Aranemi Brahmadata. This lady was highly celebrated for the good qualities of both her heart and mind. Her father-in-law called her 'mother' out of respect; and she is known in Pali as Visákhá Migaramáta. Beal calls her 'Visákha-mátawi'. The king Prasenajit was nursed by her through a severe illness, and he called her his sister. She built a vihára for Buddha near Srāvasti (in it, if the words of the Pali texts be taken literally) and presented it to the Sangha. She stands out as a pious matron whose thoughtfulness extended to all followers of the Great Master, but who had a special care for the well-being and good name of the female disciples.

It is not possible to accept as fact or as based on fact every tradition or record of events said to be connected with Buddha and located at Srāvasti. Those which are decidedly historical or semi-historical, as shown by the evidence in local names and the like, may be usefully put together here, and it will be well to endeavour to maintain something of historical sequence.

Foremost we must place the remarkable conversion of Angulimála. This was a robber of great notoriety, originally named Ahimsaka, who used to murder his victims and carry their fingers strung together by way of a garland round his neck. Hence he was popularly known as Finger-garland (Angulimála). This malignant scourge was subdued by the benign teaching of Buddha and became an Arhat. He is held up as an illustration of the inevitable suffering which even a good man must endure in this life as the result of accumulated evil actions. Anguli-mála lived in the monastery outside the city (probably the Jetavana) and when he went into the city to beg he was greeted with derision and made the butt of missiles. He returned on one occasion to Buddha covered with blood, his garments torn and his alms-bowl shattered. Buddha then delivered the discourse on the inevitable causality and consequences of evil doing.

We have seen how Sáriputta met with opposition from the rival schools at Srāvasti, and it was not likely that the Great Teacher would pass unchallenged here. When he first appeared in the city, king Prasenajit asked him how he could arrogate enlightenment when other great doctors such as Púrna Kasyapa did not. Later on, in Buddha's sixteenth year of ministry, Prasenajit, who had embraced the Dharmma, arranged for a public controversy between Buddha and the rival doctors. The arena was laid out on a plot of ground between the Jetavanæ

and the city. Buddha here met Púrna Kasyapa and probably also Gosála Mankhaliputta, Sanjaya, son of Vairati, Ajita Kesa-kambala, Karuda Katyáyana and even Nirgrantha Jnátaputta (Mahavíra of the Jains). It is said that Buddha's opponents fled in dismay on beholding some magical exhibitions of his power. They left him victor. Purna's end was melancholy. He was beating his retreat in shame and he met a eunuch. It was his habit to go naked, and the eunuch chaffed him, asking him why he went about 'naked,' shameless like an ass, ignorant of the 'truth.' Púrna said he was in search of a pool to wash himself, and the eunuch pointed one out. Púrna tied a jar full of sand round his neck, leaped into the water, and was drowned.

A greater interest attaches to two other names, those of Gosála Mankhaliputta and Nirgrantha Jnátaputta, because the latter was the founder of the Jain sect, and the Jain religion survived and prospered in Srávasti long after Buddhism disappeared. Gosála had been a disciple of Mahavíra, but subsequently posed as an independent teacher and rival of his early master. The only point to be noted here is that Gosála lived in the pottery bazar of the potter's wife Háláhálá in Srávasti. He was thus established at this city as a centre for the propagation of his doctrines, and it is not to be doubted that Mahavíra also made Srávasti one of his centres. Indeed, as I am inclined to think, Srávasti was not only the capital of a powerful kingdom when Buddha appeared, but it was also the home of philosophical speculation, and Buddha found a number of schools of thought and systems of philosophy already established at Srávasti, when he proposed to visit it. It may have been from motives of worldly wisdom that he sought the erection of a vihára prior to his visit. It obviously gave distinction and importance to his arrival and crusade against other teachers to have a splendid monastery ready for his reception. It is likely that the fact of the vihára being erected outside the city and the unwillingness of Jeta to part with the site, were owing to the opposition of the older schools, and Sáriputta's deputation to superintend the erection of the vihára was his commission as a pioneer to prepare the way for the entry of the new teacher with due circumstance.

It is probable it was when Buddha met his opponents for the public controversy planned by Prasenajit, that the accusation was preferred against him by the woman Chinschamana, whose story is told so graphically by Fa Hian (*vide infra*). This was not the only attempt made to discredit Buddha by imputations of incontinence. He was also accused of murdering a woman of evil character, but the charge was proved to be false (*vide infra*).

It was not only with the opposition of rival schools and the devices

of calumny that Buddha had to contend. He had also the machinations of a false follower to counteract. Devadatta, his own cousin, was among his professed followers and desired to secure the succession to the headship of the Sangha for himself, but Buddha had determined on another representative. Devadatta therefore tried to create a schism in the fraternity; he obtained a temporary mastery of Ajátasatru, the son of Bimbisára, king of Magadha, and sought to secure eminence through his aid. He failed. Then he aspired to be king of the Sákya, who entertained the notion of placing Yasodhara (Buddha's wife) on the throne. He went to her one day on the terrace of the palace at Kapilavastu, and seizing her hand, entreated her to become his wife. She resented his proposal and flung him to the ground. He then determined to destroy Buddha, who was at Srávasti. He placed poison under his finger nails, approached Buddha, feigning to pay him homage, fell at his feet and tried to scratch his legs. The attempt failed. Devadatta then entreated his cousin to forgive him. The Great Teacher promised to do so, if he once more unreservedly professed his faith in him. This he did, reciting the usual formula 'I take my refuge, etc.,' but there was a lie on his lip and he fell living into hell. The death of Devadatta occurred at Srávasti a few years before Buddha died.

Sáriputta, the great apostle and the architect of the Jetavana monastery, died soon after Devadatta's decease. He died at Nalanda, where he was cremated, and the disciples brought his ashes, alms-bowl, and cloak to Rajagriha, and laid them before Buddha, who took them on to Srávasti. Sudatta then procured the ashes from the Master and built a stupa over them. It was not long after this that Virudhaka deposed his father and usurped the throne of Kosala. He had long cherished schemes for this end, but had been deterred by the prime minister. One day, however, when that official was driving out in a chariot with Prasenajit, the latter suddenly conceived a desire to visit Buddha, who was staying in a Sákya town called Metsurudi. Thither they drove. The king handed his insignia to the minister and went in to Buddha. The minister, who had been left outside, drove off in the chariot to Srávasti and crowned Virudhaka. Mallika and Varshika now left Srávasti and went in search of their royal husband, whom they met on his return from Buddha, and they told him what had occurred. Prasenajit sent Mallika back to Srávasti to her son, bidding her reign with him, while he and Varshika went to Rajagriha. Here the deposed king died, and Ajátasatru paid royal honours to his remains.

Virudhaka had not been long on the throne when his companion Ámbharisha reminded him of the vow he had made regarding the Sákya of Kapilavastu. The king prepared his army for a raid, but

Buddha, who was at Srāvasti, went out of the city and sat down under a leafless tree by the roadside. When Virudhaka saw Buddha here, he asked him why he was sitting under a tree which gave no shade. Buddha replied that his kinsmen made it shady. Virudhaka felt rebuked and turned back, but he was induced by Ambharisha to march again, and on this occasion he advanced to Kapilavastu and invested the city. The Sákya sallied out and repulsed their besiegers. They then returned into the city and shut their gates. The Kosala army rallied and encamped round the walls. Virudhaka by false professions induced the Sákya to open their gates. When he had entered, he treacherously ordered the slaughter of the Sákya. He killed, it is said, 77,000, and carried off 500 youths and 500 maidens. He killed the youths and tried to force the maidens into his harem, but they would not go, and so they too were killed. Buddha now foretold that within seven days, the Kosala house would be destroyed and that Virudhaka and Ambharisha would be burned up.

Virudhaka returned to Srāvasti, and noticed Jeta walking on the palace terrace. He sent for Jeta and told him he had been killing his enemies. The prince asked who these enemies were and Virudhaka replied: 'The Sakyas.' 'Then who are your friends?' asked Jeta. At this retort this king was so incensed that he ordered the death of Jeta.

When Buddha's prophecy of destruction to the Kosala house was told to Virudhaka, he built a pleasure house in the water and went there with his harem and Ambharisha for seven days. On the seventh day, as they were preparing to return, the sky, which had been clouded, suddenly cleared up. The sun shone out and his rays fell on a burning-glass which was laid on a cushion. The cushion caught fire and the building was burned down. The women escaped, but Virudhaka and Ambharisha perished in the conflagration. Thus closed, as far as we know, the independent dynasty of Srāvasti, which had been favourable to Buddhism, and Buddha does not appear to have again visited the city. He died soon after.

It will perhaps be best to discuss here the legend narrated by Mr. Benett in his article on 'Sahet-Mahet' in the Gazetteer of Oudh, and quoted also by General Cunningham, regarding a convulsion which is said to have buried one of the later kings of Suhil Deo's line in ruin. I have heard several versions of the tale and it comes in full to this.

The king, whoever he was, went out hunting one day and returned home very late. The sun was about to set and, according to the customs of his house, he could not eat after sunset. He went to perform his evening devotions, saying he would not eat. His younger brother's wife said it was still day and went up to the housetop and addressed

the sun, who paused to gaze upon her beauty. The king, finding it still day, ate his dinner and washed his hands. The young lady came down, and it suddenly grew dark. The king expressed his wonder, and his queen told him how the beauty of his younger brother's wife had detained the passing sun. Fired with passion, he said: "I must see her." The queen said: "You cannot see your younger brother's wife." The young princess, who was true to her husband, and as modest and chaste as she was beautiful, said that the city would be ruined if he dared to violate her. She went again to the eminence where she had first held the sun spell-bound, and the king determined to pursue her. She implored the sun for aid, and he darted a ray upon the king which burned him and turned the city upside down.

This curious legend is locally attached to some unknown member of the dynasty of Suhil Deo, sovereign of Kosala at the time of Saiyad Salar's expedition, and some ignorant persons narrate it as an explanation of the desolation of Set Mahet, and, converting the name into Set met (in the sense of 'topsy-turvy'), add to the legend how the city was turned upside down. Mr. Benett attaches special value to the legend as showing that the king alluded to was a Jain, 'the inability to eat after sunset, which is the point on which the whole turns, being derived, from the Jain reluctance to sacrifice insect life.' Mr. Benett also places this occurrence at about forty years after the invasion of this kingdom by Sálár Mas'úd, and thinks it points to 'the conquest of the country by 'the first of the great Rathor kings of Kanauj, Sri Chandradeva, in the 'last half of the eleventh century, when he made a pilgrimage to 'Ajodhia, Kosala, etc.'

I think that the germ of this legend lies in the history of Virudhaka. The point on which Mr. Benett lays stress, the regard for insect life, is characteristic of the Buddhists equally with the Jains. Thus, the eating by lamplight, being a forbidden custom, is not conclusive for a Jain connection of the legend. The supposition of an invasion by the Rathor king of Kanauj is only a guess and, as far as I know, a gratuitous guess: and the Jain faith was certainly flourishing at Srávasti half a century after Suhil Deo's death, for the finest statues of Mahavíra, which have been discovered by me at Somnáth, bear inscriptions of the donor dated 1133 Samvat. How could they have escaped in a siege and sack? Besides it is more than probable that his dynasty ended with Suhil Deo, who fell in conflict with Sálár Mas'úd's force: and the tomb at Mahet on the site of the king's palace is that of the Kotwál left at Mahet by the invading Moslems.

It will be remembered that Virudhaka conceived the notion of exterminating the Sákya because of an insult put upon him when he

penetrated to their park on a hunting expedition. The insult referred to his maternity, his mother being a Brahman, who had been a servant in a Sákyā household, while his father was a Kshatriya. His first attempt was foiled by the entreaty of Buddha, himself a Sákyā, who met him outside the city and induced him to return. His second expedition was unopposed by Buddha, and he not only slaughtered the Sákyās but he endeavoured to force some Sákyā maidens into his harem. With this, we may compare also Devadattá's attempt to coerce Yasodhara on the palace terrace at Kapilavastu, and his death at Srāvasti. In both cases the would-be ravishers were resisted and perished. Virudhaka's death was foretold by Buddha, and there is a marvellous resemblance between the record of the events attending it and the modern legend. Again, if we bear in mind that the Sákyās were of the Solar race of Kshatriyas, when we consider the lady's appeal (the lady being Mallika, Virudhaka's mother, or some other person interested in the Sákyās) made to the sun, and the destruction of the wicked king by the sun, we can readily see in this story the probable appeal of the Sákyās, whose daughters had been murdered, made through some one to a neighbouring potentate of Solar stock, who marched to Srāvasti and avenged their cause. Buddha's prophecy of the death of Virudhaka was probably a forewarning of the advent of the ally summoned by his kinsmen to their aid, of which Buddha cannot but have known. Who the avenger was we do not know, but he was probably Ajátasatru, the monarch of Magadha. On the whole, I think, we may fairly claim this legend, still lingering with the ignorant dwellers about Mahet, as a confused memory of the fall of Virudhaka, which is detailed with some degree of historical accuracy in the Tibetan records. However this may be, with Virudhaka's death the curtain falls on Srāvasti, and does not rise again for close on nine hundred years.

What do we know and what can we surmise as to the interval between 477 B. C and 410 A. D. ?

To this we must answer that we *know* nothing as to Srāvasti itself, but there are certain historical data from which we can infer probabilities.

First of all, Srāvasti no longer appears as the capital of an independent kingdom. In the next place, the kingdom of Magadha continued to maintain its independence and individuality and to advance in prosperity until the zenith of its greatness under Asoka, who reigned ten generations after Ajátasatru. Again, the Tibetan record that a son of Prasenajit became the first king of Tibet, possibly covers a migration northward of the family of the Srāvasti kings after Virudhaka's death.

Further, there is some reason to suppose that the kings of Kosala and Magadha had been rivals, for it seems that Prasenajit had once in Buddha's lifetime inflicted a defeat on Bimbisára. When Prasenajit was deposed by his son, he retired to Rájagriha, the capital of Magadha, and when he died, Ajátaśatru paid royal honours to his remains. What was more natural than that the Sákyas should appeal to Ajátaśatru to avenge their cause? We do not actually find authority for supposing that Ajátaśatru did come to their aid. Add to all this that Ajátaśatru had become the firm friend and patron of Buddha, that Buddha is represented to have foretold the coming glory of Pátaliputra, that Ajátaśatru moved his capital to this point, thus bringing it to a place more central, if Kosala be added to Magadha, than Rájagriha was, and on the whole I am inclined to believe that, from the overthrow of Virudhaka, Kosala was merged in Magadha and that the latter probably included all the country which had fallen under the influence of Buddhism.

Researches hitherto made have not unearthed any monuments at Srávasti distinctly referable to the age of Asoka, but Hwen Thsang's narrative would lead us to refer the stone pillars at the east of the Jetavana (not yet found by the way) to this king. It is highly probable that he did erect *some* monuments, if not these pillars at Srávasti, for it can scarcely be conceived that he should leave a place so intimately connected with the Great Teacher's career without some mark of his zealous attachment to the Dharmma.

The dominance of the Magadha kings would seem to have continued down to the period of the Brahmanist revival, which happened under some Vikramáditya, possibly him who laid out the city of Ajodhya, but it would be foolish for me to hazard any date for this event. With General Cuuningham this Vikramáditya of Ujjain is Chandra Gupta Vikramaditya whom he places as founder of the Gupta era in 166 A. D. But, I think, I may well give some value to the traditions which ascribe the restoration, the foundation, of the present 'Ajudhiya' to that Vikramádtiya, whose era is current in Upper India, 57 B. C. Hwen Thsang mentions a Vikramáditya who was king of Srávasti about half way between his time and the death of Buddha. Taking Hwen Thsang's visit at 635 A. D. and Buddha's death at 477 B. C., this would give us 79 A. D. But taking the known date of Hwen Thsang's birth 603 A. D. and Buddha's age at 80 years, we get 20 A. D. Now, allowing for the Chinese antedating Buddha's birth and death, we should get well back to the Vikramáditya whose era is current in the North West and Oudh. I am inclined to believe that it was to him that Hwen Thsang referred as the sovereign of Srávasti.

There are two kings, an uncle, named Khiradbar, and his nephew, mentioned as kings of Srāvasti between 275 and 319 A. D. in the Singhalese records, but they cannot have been possessed of any influence for they have left no monuments and they are wholly unknown to local tradition.

I now pass over the visits of the Chinese pilgrims to Srāvasti: Fa Hian in 410 A. D., and Hwen Thsang in some year between 629 and 645 A. D., for the records of their pilgrimages are in the hands of all. I need only notice that, when Hwen Thsang visited Kanauj, the king of that place was Harsha Varddhana and his dominions probably included Uttara Kosala.

In the *Dasa Kumāra Charitam*, a Sanskrit work reasonably assigned to the 6th century A. D., we find Srāvasti mentioned, and it is said to have been the residence of a king named Dharma Varddhana. The work is a romance, but it probably contains accurate accounts of places known to the author. It is not improbable that Dharma Varddhana was a viceroy of the Kannauj sovereign at stationed Srāvasti, and that the kings of Kanauj had extended their supremacy thus far east at this period.

Professor Weber gives a summary of the contents of the *Dasa Kumāra Charitam* in *Indische Streifen*, Vol. I, pp. 308-351, and I shall here give the portion referring to Srāvasti, as I wish to omit no reference to the city which I can anywhere find. The book is a narrative of the travels of the son of the king of Magadha and nine friends of his, who travel separately and afterwards meet and narrate their adventures. It is Pramati who visited Srāvasti.

After his separation from his companions, Pramati had come to the Vindhya forest, lain down under a tree, committed himself in a pious prayer to the care of the goddess of the tree, and fallen asleep. In a dream he felt himself lifted up and, opening his eyes, saw himself in a magic hall, resting beside a sleeping maiden of marvellous beauty, on whom the moon was shedding her rays. Through fear of awaking her he does not venture to touch her, and noticing her move he feigns to lie asleep. She actually wakes up, gazes in astonishment on the companion of her couch, but soon sinks back again into sleep. He too falls asleep. In the morning when he wakes he finds himself shivering with cold under the tree in the forest. While he is still thinking over what he had seen, a female in celestial guise appears, who embraces him warmly and solves the riddle for him. It is his own mother, Tárāvali, the daughter of the Yaksha king Manibhadra, who had left his father, Kāmapāla, in a hasty passion on some slight provocation, and become possessed by an evil spirit for a year by way of punishment. The time was now up and she was on the point of returning to her husband. But she had

resolved before doing so to attend the festival of 'Tryambaka in Srāvasti. On the previous evening she had, when passing along, heard Pramati's prayer, and, to protect him from the inclemency of the night, until she returned from the festival, she had taken him away in sleep to the slumbering Navamálíká, daughter of Dharma Varddhana, king of Srāvasti. On returning from the festal ceremonies, where her spirit was wholly purified from the curse, she had recognized him as her own son and had seen how he, as well as the maiden, had been abashed when they found themselves lying side by side. She had again caused him to sink into real sleep and brought him back to this spot, and was compelled, while hastening to his father, to leave him for the present to his own devices and to fate. She vanishes after an affectionate farewell. But Pramati, who is overcome with love, wends his way towards Srāvasti. On his way he wins, as a spectator at a cock-fight, the friendship of an old Brahman, who lodges him for the night. On the next morning Pramati arrives at Srāvasti, and, being tired with walking, he lays himself down to rest in the shade of the pleasure-garden outside the city. Here a waiting woman comes up to him with a picture in her hand, which she compares with him. Navamálíká has painted the picture of the youth whom she had seen in her dream and sent out her waiting-woman to find the original. Pramati proves himself to be the person wanted by drawing the picture of the princess and narrating the occurrence of the night. He sends the woman back with the message that he would soon come to the princess, and he now turns to the old Brahman with the plan he had laid to effect this. The Brahman brings him dressed up as his daughter to the king, and asks him to keep her, saying he was going to fetch his son-in-law, and he knew no other way to keep the maiden safe as she was full grown, especially as her mother was dead. The king accepts the charge and makes the maiden over to his daughter as a playmate. After a month, when the ladies of the seraglio make a bathing excursion, Pramati dives and passes to an appointed spot on the other side of the river, where the old man is waiting for him with male attire. The female guise is now discarded and the old Brahman goes to the king with Pramati as his intended son-in-law to demand his daughter. The harem meanwhile is in great commotion on account of her being drowned. The princess is beside herself and the king is in a most unhappy fix before the old man, who is about to burn himself in front of the king's palace, when the king succeeds in overcoming his resolution by giving him his own daughter in lieu of the lost maiden in marriage to the intended son-in-law, and he also hands over the kingdom to the young adventurer. Thus Pramati gains all his desires.

The only points to be noted in this passage with reference to exploration at Set Mahet are that there was at the time of this composition a pleasure-garden outside the city, and that the harem of the local governor went out, after the fashion of Hindu women in the present day, to bathe on festivals. Whatever the position of the palace may have been in Mahet, the river seems to me to have run at one time close up to the east wall, and in the ruins of that wall I can trace chambers not yet explored, and probably this wall was laid out as a bathing ghát along the river bank. This would be the place where the ladies went to bathe and from which Pramati took his dive to the other bank of the Rapti. With these remarks I dismiss the story for the present. A less detailed abstract of the *Dasakumára Charitam* will be found in Vol. III of Wilson's *Essays*.

There is a blank of about four hundred years from Hwen Thsang's visit until we reach the period where reliable history begins in India, the early Muhammadan invasions, and we must discuss the fatal advance of Sálár Mas'úd into the country north of the Ghágra. The generally current account of this event is that given in an Urdu book called '*Mirá't-i- Mas'údi*,' but this is only a debased translation or rather amplified paraphrase in Urdu of the Persian work *Saulat-i-Mas'udi*, and is very inaccurate. I possess a copy of the Persian work, written in an age when careful transcription was the means of preserving historical records, and I have translated a large portion of the book, and intend to complete and annotate it for publication, when I shall have sufficient leisure. There is also a popular ballad-record of all events of the invasion of Sálár Mas'úd which I have only heard from the lips of daffális who sing this '*Jangnáma*', as they call it. I have been unable to complete the ballad by bringing together all the cantos, but I have obtained by dictation the version given of the events connected with the fatal trans-Ghágra episode. The whole may yet be recovered. It seems to have been composed by a Lalla named Nathmal of Delhi; and there was a complete copy in manuscript until recently with a daffáli near Set Mahet, but it was unfortunately burned,

The '*Saulat-i-Mas'údi*, states that Sálár Mas'úd was at Misrikh with his father Sálár Sáhu when Saif-uddin, who had an advanced post at Bahraich, sent in word that the Hindu chiefs were rising, and he asked for reinforcements. Sálár Mas'úd was at his own request permitted by his father to proceed to Bahraich (17 Shábán 423 A. H.). Two months later Sálár Sáhu died at Misrikh, and for two or three months more Sálár Mas'úd remained in mourning and inactive. He then called a council of war in the opening of the new year, Muharram 424 A. H., and about the same time he saw in a dream his father and his mother,

Satr Ma'allá, encamped on a river bank, and he seemed to go to join them, and his mother held out a chaplet and said she had his wedding feast laid. This was a presage of his coming end. Next day he received an ultimatum from the Hindu chieftains demanding that he should quit their land. The chiefs who are enumerated in this connection are Rae Ráét, Rae Sáét, Arjun, Bhíkan, Kanak, Kalyán, Nagaru, Sagaru, Karan, Bírbal, Ajaipál, Sripál, Harpál, Harakhu, Narakhu, Rajudhári, Deonarayan, and Barsingh. Sálár Mas'úd of course ignored this demand. The chieftains formed a combined camp on the banks of the Kuthila. He moved up and defeated them and, after a halt of a week on the field, he returned to Bahraich. It was now that he gave instructions for the laying out of a garden at the Surajkund and fixed on it as his burial-place. He expected death in battle.

A messenger from Rai Jogi Dás of Jumla and one from Rai Gobind Dás came now and tendered submission for their masters. They were received with courtesy and others followed suit. The defeated chiefs, who wished to prolong the campaign, summoned all the aid they could and now Rai Suhar Deo from Sanjauli and Rai Bahar Deo from Sambalauta appear prominent as the organizers and leaders in the struggle which followed. The chieftains of both plain and hills came together again on the Kuthila. They once more advised Sálár Mas'úd to withdraw. He rejected the advice and determined to attack them again. At this juncture he received news that the enemy had driven off all the cattle of his camp, and he at once sounded an advance. The Hindus suffered a defeat, but one-third of the Moslem force perished. Sálár Mas'úd returned again to Bahraich and was lost in religious meditation, much to the alarm of his officers. Meanwhile the Hindus mustered their forces and advanced against Bahraich. Their first engagement was with an advanced post about four miles from Bahraich, but the dire fight was at the Surajkund. The engagement lasted for three days. By the third day, the 14th Rajjab 424 A. H., the ranks of both Hindu and Moslem had been thinned to decimation, and now Sálár Mas'úd with a handful of the faithful faced Rai Suhar Deo and Rai Bahar Deo, who had like him held themselves in reserve. Mas'úd was killed and not a Moslem remained alive but was wounded. Next day Mir Saiyad Ibrahim, who had been left at Bahraich, came out with his reserve, buried Saiyad Mas'úd and others, and then fell upon Suhar Deo. The leaders fell dead at each other's hands. The inscription on Mas'úd's tomb at Bahraich may be rendered:

The Chief Sálár Mas'úd to God was dear:

In 405 he saw the light of day:

He lived four days into his twentieth year
And in 424 he passed away.

He was born on 9th Rajjab 405 A. H. and died on 13th Rajjab 424 A. H.

So much for the history : now for the ballad. I give it in English ballad metre, and I have carefully retained the vulgar corruption of the Persian names. I have only to premise that in the ballad allusion is made to the popular belief that Sálár Mas'úd's mother had arranged for his marriage with a maiden at Rudauli, in the Faizabad District, when the news of the cattle raid came and Sálár Mas'úd started to avenge the insult and perished on his expedition. No other comment is needed, but I give footnotes where necessary.

I.

1.

Crowds were moving through the city,
Wedding guests in garments gay :
Bibi Mámúl* sent for *mehndi* :
And 'twas brought upon a tray.
Gájan's† hands she coloured with it,
On his neck a garland bound,
While to all the guests assembled
Betel leaf was handed round.

2.

And she sprinkled *atar* on the
Saiyads of the Prophet's race,
And she summoned Khwája Nádir,
Set him in the middle place.
How the squibs and rockets crackled,
Scent of aloe-wood arose,
How the blue stars burst and faded,
Nathmal Lall‡ the story knows.

3.

Saiyad Rána§ came with *mehndi*
And the garden|| went before.
How bright it bloomed !—An elephant
On his back a haudah bore.

* This is Satr Ma'alla, Sálár Mas'úd's mother.

† This is Gházi Mián, Saiyad Sálár Mas'úd.

‡ The poet here introduces his own name.

§ The Saiyad of Rudauli to whose daughter it is supposed Sálár Mas'úd was to have been married.

|| This means the artificial flowers made up and carried in the marriage procession. They are scrambled for when the procession reaches the bride's door.

Came the maiden in a litter,
 Borne along in bridal state ;
 Saiyad Rána's train pressed onward
 And the *mehndi* reached the gate.

4.

Bibi Mámúl's love waxed stronger
 When she heard they thronged the way,
 And her maidens all uprising
 Broke into this nuptial lay :
 ' Spread ye now the sandal *chauki*,
 ' On it now the bridegroom seat :
 ' Dye ye well his hands with *mehndi* :
 ' Give him gilded *pán* to eat.'

5.

Mámúl scattered gold and silver,
 And she seated Gájan bold :
 On his wrist he wore a bracelet,
 Pearls inlaid in purest gold.
 In his hand he held a dagger
 While she spread the *mehndi's* hue :
 Then with rice she decked the pitcher,
 Finishing maternal due.

II.

The Gwallas danced to mark the day
 In forest wild with mirth ;
 The townsfolk came their joy to share,
 And Indra stooped to earth.
 A Sunday for those rites was fixed,
 Which never were to be,
 A day for war, not nuptials, marked
 By Allah's firm decree.

III.

1.

On guile the raja Rudal Mal*
 Was bent and now he rose,
 And swore a lie. No king hath fear
 No bond in oath who knows.

* One of Suhil Deo's brothers. There were five brothers. Suhil Deo (*alias* Suhar Dal), Rudal Mal (*aliter* Rudr Mal), Bág Mal, Bahar Mal, and Sahar Mal.

‘Pírbála’s* marriage feast to-day
 ‘They keep with banquet high :
 ‘So I shall seize on Gaura Got
 ‘And on my gods rely.’

2.

Then uprose Rája Suhil Dal ;
 ‘My brother king,’ quoth he,
 ‘To arms we’ll call our armies all
 ‘And I shall go with thee,
 ‘The Gwallas kill and Sálár’s kine
 ‘Our booty be to-day.’
 A wanton king was Suhil Dal
 And would not brook delay.

IV.

1.

The Gwalla clan at Gaura Got,
 They were seven hundred strong :
 Nand Mahar† was their sturdy chief :
 His retinue was long.
 To him the raja Suhil Dal
 For tribute sent request ;
 Of curds and milk on Mahar Nand
 He laid a strong behest.

2.

When thus the raja Suhil Dal
 Demanded milk and curds,
 Nand Mahar heard but heeded not
 The raja’s haughty words :
 ‘Gájan my master is,’ said he,
 ‘Whom fealty I owe :
 ‘And to his wedding feast to-day
 ‘My milk and curds shall go.’

3.

The raja heard but gave no thought
 To what Nand Mahar said :
 He drew his army out in line
 And Bág Mal went ahead.

* Sálár Mas‘úd.

† His name still lives as eponym of a place 12 miles north of Set Mahet.

He went and fell on Gaura Got*
 Where dwelt the bold Ahir,
 And thus that wanton raja seized
 The cattle of the *Pír*.

4.

Nand Mahar rose in mighty wrath,
 His retinue was long :
 He called the Gwalla clan to rise ;
 They were seven hundred strong :
 ‘Hear me my Gwáls,’ said he, ‘be brave
 ‘And to your salt be true.
 Be up and bear in mind to-day
 ‘The Mián’s claims on you.’

5.

The Gwallas rushed to battle all
 With axes and with bows :
 Where’er they saw the stoutest foe
 They dealt their boldest blows.
 The sturdy Gwallas fought like men
 While Mahar cheered the fray,
 And he for one remembered well
 The Mián’s claims that day.

6.

Among them all was Harbans Lall,
 The bravest of their band :
 A double sword was in his belt,
 A rocket in his hand.
 Like thunderbolt he forward leaped
 Into the thickest fight :
 He drew his sword and brandished it
 Around him left and right.

7.

Then trembled warriors of the field
 And back they stood appalled :
 Matchless he was and fought alone ;
 On Gájan’s name he called.

* There are many places known as Gauria this and that, but there is a Gauradih in the south of Gonda District.

The wounded fell upon the ground
 And corpses headless rolled :
 He slaughtered chiefs and warriors,
 And bravest cheeks grew cold.

8.

Then quailed the raja Suhil Dal ;
 He left the cows and fled :
 But many of that Gwalla clan
 That erst were few, were dead.
 Then Rájá Bahar Mal reviled
 His brother Suhar :* ‘ Shame !
 ‘ To turn thy back on Nand and bring
 ‘ A stain upon our name ’ !

V.

1.

The Gwallas to Nand Mahar cried :
 ‘ Come, now the wine cup drain.’
 ‘ This is no time for wine,’ said he,
 But ‘ gainst them strove in vain.
 By clamour led, seven hundred cups
 Their chief before them laid :
 They drank full deep and sank in sleep
 In the cool forest shade.

2.

And now the raja Suhil Dal
 A priestly pandit sought :
 And horses five and garments five,
 And weapons five were brought,
 ‘ Pandit,’ the Rájá said, ‘ these gifts
 ‘ To Mahar Nand present :’
 The Brahman hied to Gaura Got
 Upon this message bent.

3.

He went among the Gwallas all
 And straight the gifts he showed :
 ‘ Ho ! Mahar Nand !’ a Gwalla said,
 ‘ What do these presents bode ?’

* This form occurs here for the commoner Suhel, Suhil or Suhak. The real name seems to have been Suhirda (Sans : Su-hṛida=Goodheart.)

‘They are,’ Nand answered, ‘merely gifts
 ‘From Suhil Dal to me,
 ‘These horses five, and garments five
 ‘And weapons five I see.’

4.

‘But are these gifts,’ the Gwalla asked,
 ‘For thee or for the clan?’
 To all his tribe Nand Mahar spoke :
 ‘Go, let him mount who can.’
 Five drunken herdsmen reeling rose
 And killed those noble nags,
 Those weapons five they broke in twain,
 And rent the robes in rags.

5.

The pandit saw this woeful spite
 And out Nand Mahar spake :
 ‘Go Maharáj! to Suhil Dal,
 ‘And back this message take :
 “‘The Kunwr Kandhaiya is my son,
 “‘Thy child Singhásan fair :
 “‘The *tilak* send full soon or I
 “‘Nor thee nor thine, will spare.’”

6.

‘All will I tell,’ the priest replied :
 His face he homeward set :
 No haste made he ; he halted at
 Each staging post he met.
 Arrived—the raja asked him how
 At Gaura Got he fared :
 He bent his head and omens sought
 And auspices compared.

7.

Then Raja Bág Mal bade him speak :
 ‘Say is the omen fair :’
 The pandit spread his tables out
 The tokens to declare.
 ‘Hear, Suhil Dal,’ he quick replied,
 ‘The auspices are bright :
 ‘The Gwallas all are lying drunk.
 ‘Rise, Suhil Dal, and fight.’

8.

A ruthless king was he and called
 His forces to the fray :
 He Raja Bág Mal sent ahead,
 And there was no delay.
 He summoned all his men to arms
 And rájas great of note :
 He placed his guns in front and led
 His hosts to Gaura Got.

9.

He fell a thunderbolt upon
 The herds in drunken drowse ;
 A futile fight they fought and fell :
 He swept off all the cows.
 Their bodies on the field exposed
 A feast for vultures lie :
 Like garnered sheaves their corpses fall,
 And floods of blood run high.

10.

The king thus slew the sleeping Gwáls,
 And captive Mahar made,
 And with him on his elephant
 His captive ride he bade :
 Thus with the Gwalla Chief he rode
 And there was no delay.
 But Mahar Nand uprose and said :
 ‘Hear, Raja, what I say :

11.

‘ Whoe’er shall see me ride with thee,
 ‘ Without a shade of doubt
 ‘ Will say this day that I am king
 ‘ And thou art my *mahaut.*’
 The Rája roused, a dagger plunged
 Into the chieftain’s breast :
 Then onward with the cows alone
 Towards his fort he pressed.

VI.

1.

‘ Jásó, bring curds,’ Mámúla said,
 ‘ For lucky is my star ’ :
 Nand Mahar’s wife she was, replied
 ‘ Long live our lord Sálár ’ !
 The women of her clan she called :
 Each head a milk pail bore,
 And round her form from waist to head
 One sheet each milkmaid wore.

2.

When Jásó drew near Gaura Got
 And kites and vultures saw,
 And felt the stillness in the air,
 Her soul was filled with awe.
 Corpse upon corpse she saw the dead ;
 With grief she cried aloud :
 The robe she wore in twain she tore
 And made a mourner’s shroud.

3.

She searched in vain among the slain ;
 Her Nand not here she found,
 But on she strayed and saw him laid
 Alone upon the ground :
 ‘ O Mahar Nand, my sun and moon ! ’
 She cried, ‘ O husband mine !
 ‘ Who thus hath killed our Gwallas all
 ‘ And driven away our kine ? ’

4.

She gently raised Nand Mahar’s head
 And laid it on her knee,
 While of his Jásó’s tenderness
 Thus heedless answered he :
 ‘ O unclean ! what art thou ? vulture,
 ‘ Tiger, jackal, art thou ?
 ‘ Wilt not wait my parting spirit
 ‘ But gnawest at me now.’

5.

. Tiger, jackal none,' said Jáso,
 ' Vulture or kite is nigh :
 ' She for whom thy flowers were looted,*
 ' Thy boyhood's wife am I :
 ' Swámi, I am come to tend thee '—
 ' O Wife,' he answered low,
 ' Be thou my wife of early life,
 ' Prithee for water go.'

6.

' My lord, I will,' quoth she, ' but say
 ' Who killed and why our band :
 ' Did our cows eat the rája's crops
 ' Or trespass on his land ?'
 ' Our cows,' said he, ' nor ate his crop
 ' Nor trespassed on his land :
 ' This ruthless raid and massacre
 ' He worked with want on hand.'

7.

A tank she sought and raised her hands :
 ' *Pir khwájah!* hear me pray ;
 ' If in my cloth the water stay
 ' My husband's debt I'll pay.'
 While thus she prayed the water stayed
 Within her apron pent :
 She had the Sálár Gházi's *pír*
 Addressed and back she went.

8.

The draught she brought to Mahar's lips
 And sped his parting breath :
 Then to her maids : ' Your vestments steep
 ' In this red flood of death :
 ' Your pails seven hundred fill with blood
 ' And backward with me turn '
 The while she speaks her heart and cheeks
 With hot resentment burn.

* Part of the marriage ceremony.

9.

And to the Mián Jáso came,
 Her crimson plaint she spread :
 ‘ To thee I look : our cows are gone,
 ‘ A hundred thousand head.’
 The words she said like arrows sped
 And kindled Gájan’s pride :
 He washed the *menhdi* from his hands,
 His bracelets flung aside.

10.

His sword he grasped and kissed the blade
 And straight his mother sought :
 ‘ O hear me, mother mine,’ he said,
 ‘ Great wrong the king hath wrought,
 ‘ He hath our kine as plunder seized
 ‘ And all our Gwallas killed :
 ‘ Jáso hath come to me : the air
 ‘ With cries for blood is filled.

11.

‘ O hearken, Saifu’d-din;* the tale
 ‘ To me hath Jáso told ;
 ‘ Who kills my Gwáls and steals my kine,
 ‘ A traitor king I hold.’
 ‘ O son, !’ (’tis now his mother speaks)
 ‘ Thy wedding feast is laid :
 ‘ Gájan, thou treasure of my heart,
 ‘ What new resolve is made ?’

12.

‘ There reigns but one desire supreme
 ‘ Within thy mother’s heart,
 ‘ That see she may thy wedding day
 ‘ And in it bear a part :
 ‘ I would thy nuptials celebrate
 ‘ And welcome home thy bride :
 ‘ Might I but gratify this wish,
 ‘ I have no wish beside.’

* The officer mentioned is Saulat i Mas’udi as deputed to command at Bahraich

13.

‘Nay, mother mine, but bid me go,’
 Bold Gájan quick replied,
 ‘And I shall fight the traitor king ;
 ‘The Prophet’s on our side :
 ‘Say *Bakhshá-dudh** and I shall go
 ‘The Moslem faith to spread,
 ‘Bring back the kine, and with my sword
 ‘Cut off the rája’s head.

14.

‘Or I shall fight and victor be
 ‘And come to wed this maid,
 ‘Or I shall fall and on my grave
 ‘My wedding wreath be laid.
 ‘For what should all my kinsmen say
 ‘If I disgraced our name :
 Nay, with this king I swords will cross,
 ‘And turn his pride to shame.’

15.

Then Chishti† rose to interpose,
 But Gájan’s way was won :
 His mother said : ‘God go with thee ;
 ‘*Dudh-bakhshá* ; go my son.’
 So now for Ajab‡ Gájan sent
 And asked for ink and pen :
 He cleared accounts up to the day
 And paid up all his men.

16.

He bid them gird them for the fight :
 His armoury they sought,
 And arms of every kind they took
 And rockets out they brought.
 His mother heard the order given
 And ran with naked feet,
 And clasped her arms around his neck
 His filial love to entreat :

* An idiom, a form of speech equivalent to : ‘prove yourself worthy of your mother whose milk nourished you.’

† Also Chifti.

‡ Mian Ajab Hatila, who is buried near Wazirgunj.

17.

‘ O son, on this thy wedding day,
 ‘ Haste not to leave my side :
 ‘ A maid with locks as dark as night
 ‘ I bring thee for thy bride :
 ‘ The noble Saiyads all are here,
 ‘ Thy wedding guests are they,
 ‘ And maidens singing bridal songs,
 ‘ They sing for thee to day.’

18.

‘ Nay, mother, nay ’ he said, ‘ there waits
 ‘ A martyr’s death for me :
 ‘ A mausoleum and a mosque
 ‘ My monument shall be.
 ‘ I shall be laid in Hind to rest
 ‘ But still my fame shall grow,
 ‘ And all the four worlds hither come
 Their tribute to bestow.

19.

‘ Saddle and mail on Lilla* bind
 ‘ My charger mount will I :
 ‘ My double quiver strap in front :
 ‘ Two wardrums on her tie.’
 He said and went his blood to prove,
 True crescentader he,
 With force so great that earth did quake
 His moving hosts to see.

20.

All this the rája Suhil hears
 And he is sore afraid :
 The Mián’s army ready is
 And no delay is made.
 On flags and banners waving went
 And crossed the Ghágra’s tide :
 The Mián to the Ka‘bah prayed
 For blessings on his side.

* The name of Salar Mas’ud’s charger.

21.

All green the garments were he wore
 From Kábul or Qandhár :
 One lakh and thousands thirty-six
 Of Saiyads went to war.
 Their tents went first, their cannons next,
 And elephants in rear :
 Full many days they marched ; at last
 They drew to Hind Mulk near.

22.

The Gabar* king the tidings hears
 How Gájan's tents are near,
 How flags and banners court the breeze
 And lines of shops appear :
 A sight is his Urdu bázár :†
 The people come and go,
 And sweets are piled and bakers squat
 And at their ovens blow.

23.

Vendors of grain and spices here
 And money changers sit,
 And on the sutler's hostel hearth‡
 The cheery fire is lit :
 Greengrocers vegetables bring
 Upon the ground to spread :
 The goldsmiths' deftly work with gold
 And pearls for earrings thread.

24.

And *guriyas*§ from river beds
 Have gourds and melons brought,
 And *dhímars*§ offer fish for sale
 In running rivers caught :
 And who's kotwál to hear complaints ?
 'Tis Nirmal Parihár.
 Thus well arranged and busy is
 Gájans Urdu bázár.

* Applied to Suhil deo as a non-Mussulman.

† *I. e.*, camp market.

‡ Bhatiári.

§ Two classes of kahárs.

VII.

1.

When this the Gabar king had heard,
 His queen Nauráni said :
 ‘ O Sire ! against thy fort his hosts
 ‘ Hath Mián Gájan led.
 ‘ The army of the ‘ Dín ’ has come
 ‘ To lay thy fortress low :
 ‘ O king, they will thy soldiers kill
 ‘ And streams of blood will flow.’

2.

‘ Mad art thou, woman,’ said the king,
 And mighty wroth grew he,
 ‘ For him good grace is second place :
 ‘ Why name the Turk* to me ?
 ‘ For I can boast an equal host,
 ‘ Be still and wait the strife.’
 ’Twas thus the king with anger rude
 Stroved to put down his wife.

3.

Again Nauráni spoke : ‘ O Sire !
 ‘ To fight this Saiyad dread
 ‘ Who takes the field, a stoutest shield
 ‘ Must hold above his head :
 ‘ Through bone he cleaveth clean, and what
 ‘ Avails thy sword of thread ?
 ‘ A foe we face who shows no grace
 ‘ And dyes the earth in red.’

4.

But Bahar Mal had been forewarned
 And hurried to prepare
 The ancient fort of Teliyagarh†
 And put it in repair.
 The king now staked his spear, and viewed
 The fort with heart elate :
 He bade them tie his elephant
 Beside his palace gate.

* Used merely as term of contempt.

† This is probably Teliyakot near Kauria, a station on B. N. W. Railway. The

5.

And next he summoned his mahaut
 And usages explained :
 The driver went at once to where
 The elephant was chained ;
 Saluted first the royal beast,
 Rubbed ochre on his head,
 Then a red housing bound with fringe
 Upon his back he spread.

6.

To Bhairon then and Hanuman
 And Narsingh he appealed,*
 And then of stout rhinoceros hide
 He took a studded shield
 With burnished boss, which fast across
 His giant head he tied.
 Then roared that elephant and shook
 The walls on every side.

7.

Now, Lalla, with due caution speak :
 Such elephant 'twould need
 With driver bloated and obese,
 Twelve villages to feed.
 A sword he gave that elephant
 Within his trunk to hold :
 At which he grew intoxicate
 With warlike fury bold.

8.

When sleep o'ercame the elephant—
 Now hear the tale I tell—
 Sháh Mardán bore him in a dream
 Down to the gate of hell.
 While here he stood, a scorching blast
 Of flame upon him blew,
 And upward to the golden gate
 Of Paradise he flew.

poet has with very strained poetic license confounded or brought together widely distant places and probably he and the author of the *Saulat-i-Mas'údi* have compressed a campaign into one fight.

* This points to Suhil Deo's being a Hindu, but see v. ii.

9.

Sarwar Rasul* came to the gate :
 ‘ My son, in heaven,’ said he,
 ‘ Till thou with Gájan cast thy lot,
 Thy portion cannot be.’
 The dream was o’er that broke his rest,
 The elephant awoke :
 Nor longer tarried Night, for now
 The dawn of morning broke.

10.

The Raja Suhil Dal aroused
 For news despatched a scout,
 And Raja Rudal Mal advised
 Him lead his army out.
 The Raja rode his elephant,
 His army on he led :
 The war-drums beat to war in front
 And firm was every tread.

11.

Then Hindus clashed with Moslems, while
 Their king on Somnáth calls :
 The Moslems opened with grenades,
 Hindus with musket balls.
 And thus that battle fierce began
 While loud the war-drums beat :
 Those hosts were numberless and earth
 Vibrated ’neath their feet.

12.

The high born Rajputs fought, nor once
 Their faces turned away :
 Tora in turban, clad in red,
 Conspicuous were they.
 ‘ God keep my name,’ the raja cried :
 The Rajputs heard him call ;
 The fight he led, his foes he slew,
 The foremost he of all.

* Muhammad.

13.

Loud Gájan's war-drums beat ; he placed
 In front each bravest man ;
 The ' fátiha ' recited he
 And Ajab led the van.
 Hari Singh Náth the standard high
 Amid the fight displayed :
 He drew his sword, it flashed like fire,
 Nine maunds his armour weighed.

14.

It was the doughty Hari Singh
 Who struck with surest stroke :
 He mowed the forces of the king
 And Káfirs' noses broke.*
 How Rája Suhil Dal was grieved
 This carnage sore to see :
 His hands he raised to heaven
 And wept—' oh ! woe is me ! '

15.

The Pír† fought on ; great tuskers fell ;
 No fear was on his brow :
 He hailed the haudah-mounted king :
 ' Cowstealer ! whither now ? '
 Barahna raised his spear and charged
 Like raging tempest blast ;
 Hindu and Moslem made him way ;
 The monarch breathed his last.

16.

To Ajab Mián Gájan called :
 ' Set spurs to thy brown mare ;
 ' On Bahar Mal with sword advance
 ' And hold him in the rear.'
 Mián himself his Lilla spurred,
 To Allah he appealed,
 His sword he drew and Bahar Mal
 Rolled dead upon the field.

* It is curious to find two Hindus fighting for Sálár Mas'úd.

† Sálár Mas'aúd.

17.

Mián hailed Nirmal Parihár ;
 Then from his quiver full
 He took a shaft, and drew his bow,
 And picked off Sahar Mal.
 By God's decree thus Gájan killed
 Those kings who wisdom lacked :
 He took possession of their fort,
 Their palace razed and sacked.

18.

'Now by God's grace the day is thine,'
 To Gájan Chishti said,
 'And Somnáth* it behoveth us
 Beneath our feet to tread.'
 He said and straight upon that fort
 The Moslem flag was shown :
 He tore that house of idols down
 And smashed the gods of stone.

19.

Whate'er my fame as poet, 'tis
 Through Lalla Ustád† won :
 The story true he told, I tell,
 And now my tale is done.
 The Saiyad Mián Gájan now
 For Saiyad Míran‡ called,
 And in the middle of the fort
 As governor installed.

20.

The Moslem force to Gaura Got
 Marched from the field of strife :
 God gave the word and Gájan brought
 The Gwallas back to life.
 Like sunlit waves the spear-heads gleamed
 And drums were loud in mirth :
 Ajab Hatíla's spear had rest
 Like sleeping snake in earth.

* The great image of the third Jain patriarch, whose shrine stands in the west of Mahet near the Imliya Darwáza or Tamarind Gate.

† Nathmal Lall here introduces his teacher's name and attributes the knowledge of these facts (?) to him.

‡ This hero is buried in Mahet and his tomb is kept in repair by a family of Sains who have a Sanad from Shujá'-ud-Daulah.

PART II.

General Map.

I now propose to exclude Set and Mahet from observation for the present, and to travel over the rest of the ground which occupied my attention in the cold weather, December 1884 to March 1885. I shall assume that the reader has read all part No. I of this note carefully and has taken in the main points of the notes left us by Fáh Hian Hwen Thsang. I shall also assume that the reader has consulted General Cunningham's notes on Set Mahet contained in Vols. I and XI of the reports of the Archæological Survey Department. I shall have occasion to refer to Rockhill's *Life of Buddha*, which is the most recent work on the subject of Buddhá's career. It contains many important notices of Srávasti and when I shall have need to make use of the book I shall quote it, noting that I do so, as I cannot expect the book to be in every one's hand.

In the ramparts and walls which surround Mahet I have found four well defined gates, W. X. Y. Z. That at W is the west of the gate fortified city, and is known locally as the Imliya Darwáza because of the tamarind tree which covers the mound on the right as we enter the gate. The walls rise abruptly as they approach the gate on each side, and form mounds on the summits of which are still seen the outline walls of brick watch towers. The gate was guarded by an external work, an apron-wall probably, inside which appear to have been quarters for soldiers. The central space was occupied by a building, which may have been a guard-room, or a monk's residence, or an octroi post; in fact it may have served all these purposes at various periods. Inside it I found more than 500 clay seals, almost all unbaked clay, bearing inscriptions. I sent some of them to the Secretary of the Provincial Museum, Lucknow, for inspection by a German scholar, who was at Lucknow in February 1885, but I have heard nothing of them yet. In the same place I found large round stones seemingly of uniform weight, probably 'paseris' of ancient date. I also found a fragment of a curious vessel of very hard pottery and covered with a green metallic glaze, which has gone to the Lucknow Museum. It is, to sketch from memory, something of the shape and size represented in drawing A at the end of this note. This I believe to have been part of a vessel used for the transport of some precious stuff, possibly mercury. The smallness of the orifice is remarkable and points to some such use. This external building, whatever it may have been, will be seen outlined (as far as it was fully explored) in the sheet marked 'Mahet West.'

The next gate X is in the south wall, and, on entering it, there was

a road which for a short distance followed a devious course to the west and then went up to the western Chauk and Jain quarters. The gate Y was also in the south, and seems to have consisted of two arches in the wall. The traces of the centre pillar and of the side walls are still clearly marked. I have proved by excavation that there was a broad street which ran from the sacred Buddhist and royal quarters in the city down through this gate towards Ora Jhár. I have called it 'Broad Street' in the maps. The gate Z was a large opening and seems to have been the main entrance to the east of the city. It probably opened on a road leading towards the spot now marked by the village Dewaria. The name is from the Sanscrit *dvár* a gate, and here probably passed the road leading to this gate of the city. I shall now take up seriatim the various places which the records of the Chinese pilgrims and other authorities would induce us to look for outside Set (the Jetavana) and Mahet (the city).

Lying far east from the Jetavana we have to find the stupa and vihára which mark the spot where Tathagata (Buddha) defeated the heretics and acceded to Visákha's request. I believe this to be the ruins named Baghaha Bári. I opened the mound and found the lines of cells on the south, and in the middle there was a building such as would be occupied by a superior, or which might be a small lecture-hall or a chamber for objects of veneration. I was unable to continue my exploration to the whole mound for two reasons. There is a village pathway crosses the mound, and south-east of it there was a crop growing, which I could not disturb. The name is, I believe, a corruption of Bhagava vihára, the vihára of Bhagava, a name applied to Buddha as a title of respect. The word '*bári*' a 'garden' or, as it is often pronounced in these parts *bhári*, is obviously the same as the Sanscrit and Pali *vihára*, a pleasure-ground, a garden, a place of perambulation round a monastic building. Baghaha Bári is probably Visákha's Purvaráma, as it lies east of the Jetavana. The pilgrim notes it was in strict dependence on the Sangharáma (of the Jetavana). This points to its being a nunnery, for all establishments of professed female followers of Buddha were in strict subordination to the nearest monastery.

To the south of this place is a large area very much raised, in which are brick ruins visible on the outskirts of the fields and in the earth inside them. I could not explore here as I should have had to remove the crops of some poor cultivators: but I satisfied myself that there are at least three large buildings buried here. The position of this area marks it out as the site of (1) the stupas which were raised where Buddha sat and checked Virudhaka, when leaving the city to go

against the Sákya, and (2) the stupa erected over the remains of the Sákya maidens. These two places are certain to have lain south of the stupa alluded to in the last para., and close to them was the great lake in which Virudhaka is said to have perished. It is clear that Virudhaka, according to the Buddhist fable or history, whichever we call it, perished in a lake, an ornamental water, by a conflagration which burned up a boat or pavilion in which he was. That this tank was the *Awendha Tál*, I have no doubt. It still shows in places on its banks the traces of masonry probably of a ghát or embankments. The word may be a compound of Sanscrit *ava* and *indha* (burn), and thus afford internal demonstration of the propriety of this identification.

I may add that there is reason to suppose from the general tenor of Hwen Thsang's narrative that there was a palace near this tank, for we read of Virudhaka's sending the women of his palace down to the banks of the lake and his disporting himself with them there. One local tradition localizes the spot to which the maiden ascended, who invoked the Sun, as narrated at p. 21, and says she went to the top of Ora Jhár. This fits in with the belief that Ora Jhár was a kingly residence. Another tradition says that Ora Jhár was an armoury. It is not unlikely that when Prasenajit married Mallika, she being his junior queen, he may have placed her in a palace for her own special use, and this may have been that palace. Any how, the place cannot be what a popular derivation, based on the present form of the name, would imply; a spot where sweepings gathered in baskets were thrown out. The name Ora Jhár or Orha Jhár* is applied to a high mound near Colonelganj in Gonda District, and to the Maniparbat at Ajudhia and to other places. It seems to me that it is probably a corruption of the Sanscrit *urddhwa* (high) *ádhára* (eminence), and it denotes merely a high place or lofty eminence, as either affording a commanding view or a site for a building. Altogether, I believe, that Ora Jhár will be found to have been a terraced palace, such as that on the terrace of which Virudhaka saw Jeta walking, when he ordered his death and probably it was here that Virudhaka's ladies of the seraglio were, when they went down to the ornamental water on the fatal day. There is no place that I know of to suit the story in Mahet.

Near Ora Jhár is a mound in which I found only 3 concentric rings of brick wall, two of which I explored. It is called Panahiya Jhár.† What this place can have been I was long puzzled to know, but it seemed to me to have been a ring intended for some amusement, with a gradu-

* I have heard both the aspirated and unaspirated forms used.

† Explained from 'panhi' shoe to be the place where travellers shook dust off their feet before entering city!!

ally rising auditorium or gallery. This was curiously confirmed by my reading in Weber's article already quoted, how Pramati made the Brahman's acquaintance at a cockfight outside Srávasti. I now believe that this was a cockpit, and certainly it is well suited to such a sport. The location is probable, being near an ornamental water and garden and a royal residence. The name Panahiya is probably derived from the Sanscrit *Pana* a wager or gaming. The *Jhár* is the same as in Ora Jhár.

It is curious that the only case in which superstition interfered with my excavation was at Ora Jhár. When I had cleared the summit and was beginning to expose a series of chambers on the south side of the crest, the appearance of which was that of chambers on a terrace, it was a cold day after rain and a bitter wind was blowing. The gangman, who was a Bráhmaṇ, was seized with a shivering fit and he fell over crying that the gods had attacked him, and in his raving said that there were seven spirits inside the mound opposing him. He was so horrified and weak, that it became necessary to carry him to the grove where the labourers usually spent the night. and he lay all night long reasoning with his gods and imaginary demons. I could not prevail on his gang to resume work then at Ora Jhár, and when I wished to return to the place later on, funds were too low to admit of it.

The pilgrims noted three deep tanks or ditches, where people fell living into hell. These are connected with Devadatta, Sundari, and Chanscha. They differ as to their relative positions. General Cunningham has announced the identification of these ditches or tanks, but he has misplaced them in his maps, and has said nothing as to the reasons of his identifications. The furthest south is Lambhuiha. This is probably derived from the Sanscrit root *lamb* (to sink or fall in), *bhumi* (earth), the place where 'earth sank.' North-by-east of this, at the exact distance noted by Hiwen Thsang, is Bhulinahwan Tál. This is the second. The derivation is probably from the Sanscrit *bhú* (earth), + *lina* (disappeared or vanished). The third is the gulf which swallowed Devadatta.

The tank marked as this last by General Cunningham lies inside the enclosing walls of the monastic establishment round the large *stupa* east of and within the limits of Set. It cannot, therefore, be one of the three named by the pilgrims for they all lay outside the Jetavana. I am inclined to think it must be Kundalíwa or Parsahwa, for near each is a mound containing brick ruins, probably those of buildings commemorative of some such story. It is immaterial which we assume it to be. The building near Parsahwa I opened, but it seemed to be a fane of some kind raised over an older building. Kundalíwa might be a corruption of *kund*, a tank, but it is worth noting that *kunda* is also a

pot, and the female who falsely charged Buddha with incontinence made up the semblance of pregnancy by tying a pot round her waist. It is also possible that Baitára may be one of the tanks in question, because the very name may obviously be a corruption of *baitál*, a demon, the connection of which with the story of Devadatta is easily seen.

Of other places worth note I must mention Púraina Tál. We may easily take this to be a corruption in Hindi of the Sanscrit Púrṇa, and, if we do, it can be fairly inferred that this tank is the spot associated with the suicide of Púrṇa Kásyapa mentioned at pages 8 and 9. On its south bank is a long mound which seems to contain brick-work, probably the remains of a memorial building.

To the north of this is Ambaha Tál, a large and deep tank, with a mound on three sides, and a thick clump of trees on the south. Near this I found in 1876 a portion of a stone pillar, cut in a hemi-hexagonal form, probably one of those stones referred to by Hiwen Tshang as marking particular places where various holy persons had been engaged in meditation. This then is the place where was the *wood of the recovered eyes*, and the very story still survives enshrined in the word *ambaha*. This is the Sanscrit *amba*, an eye, which is seen in the word *tryambaka*, triocular. I conclude that General Cunningham was wrong in looking to Gulariha as the site of this grove.

The mound of Barmdeo is not to be overlooked. Tradition says, it is the oldest spot round Sahet and Mahet. It will be worth opening, as we know that Brahmadata was Prasenajit's father, and the people round about say that this mound was a shine of Brahma.

Nor must I omit to notice Husen Jot with reference to which General Cunningham has made the following observations.*

“To the north-west of the monastery Hiuen Tsiang places a well
 “and a small stupa, which marked the spot where Maudgala-putra
 “tried in vain to unloose the girdle of Sáríputra. As the distance is
 “not mentioned, it may be inferred that the stupa was close by, and
 “therefore, I would identify the site with that of the shrine of Pir-
 “Barána in the small village of Husen Jot, which is within 700 feet of
 “the north-west corner of the monastery. Near the same place there
 “was also a stupa of Aśoka and a stone pillar, which the king had
 “raised to note the spot where Buddha and his right-hand disciple
 “Sáríputra had taken exercise and explained the Law. I could find no
 “trace of any of these monuments, and I conclude that the stupas, as
 “usual, must have furnished materials for the erection of Pir-Barána's
 “shrine.”

* *Archaeological Survey of India, vol. I, p. 343.*

To this paragraph objection must be taken. There is no shrine of Pir-Barána at Set Mahet and there was no person named Barána. There was a Pír Barahna. He was Sikandra Diwána, a faqir, a follower of Sultán Ibráhím Adhám, and it was with the disciples of this Mussalman Saint a rule to abjure covering for the head and feet. A full account of them is given in the *Saulat-i-Mas'údí*. He accompanied Saiyad Sálár to Oudh, and the Saiyad expired in his arms. He was himself killed by a shower of arrows while supporting the Sálár's head in his lap. He was buried beside the young hero in Bahraich. There is no trace of any shrine at Husen Jot, and I have seen nothing to lead me to suspect a stupa in or near this hamlet. I am quite at a loss to see how the venerable archæologist can have come to pen so erroneous a paragraph as this. Further north there is a grove, a mound, and a well. On the mound is a shrine of Mahádev, called here Bannú Náth. The lingam is a red sandstone pillar over which, in the place where it was found standing, the shrine was, I am told, built. This may or may not be so, but this place seems to be that which the pilgrims refer to in the narrative which was before General Cunningham, when he took Husen Jot to be the place where stood the stupa, marking the spot where Maudgalaputra tried to unloose Sáriputra's girdle. As regards Husen Jot a note should be made. The Saiyad Míran, who was left by Sálár Mas'úd as kotwal of Set Mahet, and who is buried in Mahet inside the brick building called Míran ka dargáh and also 'Míran Asthán,' was Saiyad Mir Husen who came with Saiyad Sálár to Oudh. Husenjot is a hamlet where the descendants of the original Khádim of this Dargáh still live. They hold a m'áfi conferred by the Oudh Subahdars, but greatly reduced in area by the Balrámpur Taluqdar, and they still maintain the Dargáh, and observe the annual 'feast of oblation ('urs) in Mír Husen's memory.

I must now return to the extreme east to the village of Kándh Bári. This is but a small hamlet, in which are seen at the surface of the ground the remains of massive brick walls. There are many wells in the hamlet, which is on an elevation, and close by are some five or more magnificent old trees, mangos and others. These are north-east of the village and south-east of the gate. When I first visited this place, I was amused by a reference made to one Gandhwa in connection with the name of this hamlet, and it was carried back to the time of Arjun and Hánsadhvaj. I took no note of it; but I have since read the paragraph* in General Cunningham's second report on Srávasti, in which he attempts to connect the story of the Gardener Gandamba (*sic*) who

* *Archæological Survey of India, vol. XI, p. 95.*

presented to Buddha a mango, the stone of which was planted and became a great tree, with Chakkar Bhandár. The word is not Gandamba, but is properly written Gandhamba, and is clearly a compound of Gandha + amra (or amba), the fragrant mango. The name of the village is thus a debased form of Gandhamba + vihára: the garden of 'Gandhamba' or the fragrant mango garden. Its location near two gates of the city mark it out as the probable spot to which the story should be attached. Buddha was going towards a gate of the city when the mango was presented. I shall deal with the name of Chakkar Bhandár later on.

There are two other mounds near Kándh Bári one N. W., the other N. E. of it. The latter I did not open. That on the N. W. I opened, and found the building of which an outline plan will be seen on Plate IV, and its location in Plate XIII. Here I found a late Hindu building, a shrine of Mahádeo, superimposed on earlier ruins which I had not time to fully explore. In the *argha* in the central building I found a shaft of a red sandstone pillar about 18 in. in diameter and some 4 feet in length, the upper half only being dressed and polished as a round pillar. It had clearly been originally the lower part of a massive pillar. The broken top was dressed off to a hemispherical shape. The *argha* was very brittle and of common grey-green sandstone. The walls seem to have been built round the pillar. I do not see how it could have been brought in after the completion of the building. The lower part of the shaft was cut in a polygon of which I do not remember the number of sides, and was not dressed or polished. It seems this pillar must have been the lower part of a memorial column found here, or near here, the broken top of which was subsequently dressed to hemispherical shape and used as a lingam. There were small modern lingams in two chambers on the west. I am inclined to look on this as the position of one of Aśoka's memorial pillars. Another I have already mentioned, the Banni Náth Mahádeo.

PART III.

I have now to invite attention to the separate map of Set or Sahet. I have opened so many more mounds and buildings than General Cunningham, that I have been compelled to number anew. To prevent any confusion and to make clear my observations which will often conflict with General Cunningham's convictions, I shall in the following notes give, as far as I can, the numbers which he has allotted to buildings as well as the numbers allotted by me.

The building marked 1 by me is the same as that bearing that number in General Cunningham's map.* Cunningham gives the dimensions

* *Archæological Survey of India, vol. XI, Plate XXIV.*

of the platform of the mound with tolerable accuracy, 350 ft. sq., and the exact measurement of the enclosing wall of the building now exposed, nearest the surface of the mound, can be ascertained by scale appended to my map. But into this I need not go. I shall satisfy myself with pointing out that there has been a misconception as to the age and character of the building which crowns the mound.

Cunningham states that there were three platforms and "on the uppermost terrace, which was about 80 ft. square stood the temple with its doorway facing the east. The building consisted of two parts: a large hall, or assembly room, for reading the Buddhist Scriptures, and a smaller room, or cell, with a pedestal for the enshrined image."* He then goes on to describe the cell and the assembly hall, as he calls them.

The first point I have to note is, that the cell, as it is termed, is quite a new building, in fact a modern addition to a modern building. This is apparent at a glance by observing that there are floral bricks thrust in here and there at random in the walls, having been clearly taken from the remains of an older building. In the next place the four pillars, as Cunningham calls them, small brick pedestals in the large room, are placed as *bedis* or Hindu altars, and raise the suspicion that this was a later Hindu building. I opened the floor and I found the pilasters of a larger building and four other *bedis* below. They extended to a depth of about 4 feet below and rose out of a concrete floor. On opening this concrete to dig deeper, I came upon the mouth of a well which had been closed up. I opened it and found it to be only an additional piece of masonry continuing the shaft of the original well, the platform of which was clearly marked by a line of upright bricks a few feet lower down. I cleared this well to water level, and found it had been choked with bricks, bones, and weapons. I found human skulls and bones, and the skull of a camel. One human skull still held an arrow head by which it had been pierced. Thus we have marked periods: (1) original well, (2) well repaired and added to and choked up with bones etc., after a fight, (3) the first building of which I found *bedis* and pilasters, (4) the building of which the remains were seen by General Cunningham. The surface of the floor of this latest building is 20 ft. 6 in. above water level.

To the west of this mound I opened trenches in a large level space adjoining, and I here found very old buildings deep buried under earth, ten to twelve feet below the surface and made of bricks of very large dimensions. I could discern chambers which seem to have surrounded a

* *Archaeological Survey of India, vol. I, p. 83.*

square enclosure, which were probably among the oldest, if not part of the original, buildings. In these long buried ruins I found crystal markers for playing *pachisi*, also some of clay, and a curious glass plate about $\frac{1}{2}$ inch thick perforated with five holes in the form of a quincunx. These old remains have not been mapped in yet, but are among the most interesting remains laid bare. One of the most curious relics found in them was a heap of charred rice, the form of each grain being preserved fresh as if of yesterday.

Buildings 2, 3, 4, 5, of my numbering, are not of any importance.

Building 6 was discovered by me deep under the earth and is unquestionably of great antiquity. I have exposed the enclosing walls. The bricks and the style of building point to antiquity, the former being large and massive and the mode of construction being by 'off-set' walls, that is, the bricks being set in a graduated form so as to widen out the wall like a staircase at the base. This was necessary to resist the action of the water in the low level of this ill-drained site. Most buildings found concealed at a great depth in Set are built thus. In the east wall of this building I found a fragment of a Buddhist railing. In the west side I found lying, apparently where it had fallen by accident, an ancient seal.

The building No. 7 is that which General Cunningham terms the Gandha Kutī. The name may be allowed to adhere, though in the present stage of our exploration we are not in a position to impose the name with a certainty of accuracy on any particular building. I must, however, here point again to the error into which General Cunningham falls in supposing that a large room with four low pillar shafts is necessarily 'a hall with the remnants of pillars to support a roof.' In this case I am almost sure the large chamber of what he calls the Gandha Kutī is a late Hindu addition. I have removed all the earth round the building as it now stands, and I have found that the square block or cell on the west is quite a separate building from the rest. Its base is built of off-set walls, as I have already described in the case of building No. 6, while the character of the architecture of the large middle chamber is wholly different and its style modern. In the small eastern part, which seems to have been a vestibule in later times, there are traces which indicate that it contained portions of an older construction.

I cleared all round the mound and I exposed several bases of pillars of two dimensions. They were of brick, the bricks being well curved and calculated to a nicety to suit the pillars for which they were intended. But all these pillars seemed to be of late date. On the south I noticed one base of a pillar of much larger dimensions on which a later

wall has been built. I then opened the small remnants of buildings, Nos. 9, 10, 11, and, on going to a great depth, I found that there were older walls running below, 8 to 13 feet under the surface, which clearly belonged to a wholly different and much older building. I now determined to open the Gandha Kutī and I cleared away the surface of the concrete external courtyard on the south, and I soon came on a very ancient wall running down in the form of a lower off-set brick slope, and forming a masonry terrace round the mound, on which stood the old chambers I have already described. It is of the same age and style. Further outside this I found the original enclosing wall, entire in its whole circuit. Under the modern vestibule I made a tunnel and I found the same class of old building below. I found only two objects of interest. They were not in the lower or more ancient building. One was a fragment of a pottery relief of Buddha standing and preaching. This was buried in the general ruin near the top of the mound. The other was an image in red sandstone, probably representing the scene in Buddha's life when a householder of Śrāvastī sent his son to Buddha for reception into the brotherhood. At its base was inscribed the usual Buddhist formula 'Ye dharmma,' etc., in characters of about the 5th century A. D. This stone seems to me to be the fragment of a pillar on which this figure may have been carved originally, or after the fracture of the pillar. Any how, the stone slopes like a pillar, and the edges are dressed, and bear fragments of an old inscription in well executed Sanscrit characters of early date. These fragments of writing are, as the pillar stands, meaningless.

The numbers 12, 13, mark what General Cunningham has identified as the Kosamba Kutī. My attention was in this drawn to the four *bedis* in the part marked 13, and I thought, from what I had seen in Nos. 1 and 7, that it was not unlikely that this was a recent addition to 12. I opened the ground carefully all round to a depth of about 10 ft. and I found No. 12 resting on its original foundation and built in the same style as the older buildings elsewhere opened, with off-set bricks at the base. I opened a small passage and found clearly where this formation of wall terminated, 1 ft. 9 in. inside and below the corner of 13. I also found on the east side that 13 is not deep below the upper surface. Thus clearly the part 13 is not of great antiquity, and it is possible that, while the large statue found in 12 by General Cunningham may have been there from a very ancient date, the part 13 was added on by either Buddhists or Hindus, who found the statue thus surviving the desolation of the seventh century. It is not unusual to find Hindus worshipping any image they find, without inquiring whether it is Hindu or not. On the north side of this building and close to it, in

part adjoining it, I found two small circular blocks of masonry and one square one. The former may have been memorial marks, small pagodas such as Buddhists build close to large stupas and other sacred buildings. The square block was probably a monk's platform. On the east of 13 I found, several feet below the earth, remains of another offset-brick base, which is of undoubted antiquity, but I had not the funds to continue the excavation here.

Nos. 14, 15, 16, call for no note. No. 17 is a curious construction. It seems to have been a stupa but may have been a cell. I cleared the mound in which it was hid and opened it, but did not go below the surface of the earth around it.

The building by me marked 18, is that which General Cunningham describes as a stupa and marks 5. I found nothing in it, though I went several feet deeper than Cunningham had gone. I opened the building all round outside by a trench about 9 ft. deep, and I ran a trench 9 ft. deep from the middle of the building to the east and west taking the line of the octagonal well. The trench on the east is not marked in the map as it gave no result. That on the west, *ffhh*, and others near it *ffgg*, and *jjll*, yielded some results which I shall refer to presently. At the north-west corner of the enclosing wall, I found some very curious vessels, pottery, well-baked and massive. These were large hemispherical bowls. They were lying bottom up and some were 5 feet in diameter. There were some smaller. There were also ring-like pieces of pottery of similar dimensions. The only explanation I can give of these is, that they were used in making umbrella-like cupolas on the top of stupas, or by piling the hemispheres on the cylinders they may have been used in making small memorial pagodas. Earth would in the latter case have been filled in as the successive pieces were piled on one another.

Nos. 20, 21, 22, 23 stand on the southern elevation, where General Cunningham has marked 11 and 12. His No. 12 corresponds to my No. 20, and I did not do more than clear the upper surface of a part of it. The building 21 turned out to be so large and promising that I confined myself to it. The western wall of No. 21 runs on to meet No. 24, and a wall runs east from 24 which I did not fully expose. Hence it is not shown. Nos. 22 and 23 are adjuncts to 21 and have probably served some accessory purpose to the main building. No. 21 is 128 ft. by 118 ft. and the whole block is unquestionably one piece. I cleared the building all round, going down about 13 ft. on the south, the west, and the north. I did not go quite so deep at the east. The door was on the east. I found that this building had one characteristic offset brick base at the lowest part and was there constructed of very large bricks. There were

the clearest indications that this building had been twice rebuilt with extreme care exactly on the old foundation, before it was finally rebuilt at the latest date prior to falling into the decay in which I found it, the successive strata being clearly defined. I cleared the whole of the mound above and found the well shown in the map of Sahet or Set, and in one chamber I found a fragment of a red sandstone slab or pillar. I also found two fragments of well executed stone images—Vaishnavite—with small marginal figures of Buddha cut on them. These are referable obviously to a period when Buddha had been incorporated among the incarnations of Vishnu, the period of re-absorption of Buddhism into Hinduism. When I went to the floor of the next previous stage of building, which lay about 8 feet below the floor of the upper one, I found the large slab already referred to at page 3 bearing the long Sanscrit inscription. It had lain there un-disturbed, for many years, for the root of a gigantic gular tree had extended a distance of about 17 feet from the parent stem and grown out under the stone and several feet beyond it. This root was quite flat and bent at a right angle, showing it had grown under the slab.

There can be no doubt that 21 is one of the oldest and longest preserved buildings in Set, and should be wholly cleared and exposed.

The buildings 25, 26, 27, 28 call for no remark. They are not fully exposed. No. 29 is a small platform and will be referred to again.

No. 32 is a small building which I exposed. It was hidden in a mound and seems to have been a cell in which a monk may have dwelt, or possibly it was an image-shrine. The door faced the west. I think it was more likely a cell. There are in it what seem to me to be two raised masonry beds for monks, who may have lived here, but of this no one can be certain.

The most interesting building which I opened, was the stupa (No. 33) which I propose to identify as that of *Sáriputta*. I have completely exposed the outer walls of the stupa itself and those of the enclosing square. The hollow on the east in which water still lies, was, I found as I continued my exploration, originally a masonry tank. To the north-east of it, and possibly outside the enclosing lines of 33, was a very curious building No. 34 in which I found many clay heads, specimens of well-moulded and well-burnt pottery. What this place was I cannot say, owing to its very peculiar construction. Lying against the wall of one of the cells, cut by the trench *aabb*, I found a well executed brass cast of an elephant's head, ears, shoulders, and forelegs.* It is possible

* See Plate XXV, c.

this was the figure which surmounted one of the pillars east of the Jetavana in the days of the Chinese pilgrims, one of whom says it was an elephant's head, while the other calls it an ox head. The pillars were, it would seem, 70 ft. high. The great elevation of the figure would amount for its being mistaken by one pilgrim for an ox head. It seems to have been built into the shaft of the pillar. The groove at the back points to its having been intended to be fastened into a wall or stone, so that one line of the groove should be hidden while the other should seem to be the base from which it rose.

The lines *aabb*, *eedd*, *zz'*, *xy*, *xw*, *uv*, *ut* are all trenches which I dug to a great depth exposing walls and cells. There seems to have been a continuous line of building from *u* to *t*, and, when I stopped the trench at *t*, I found two curious square remnants of what may have been pillar bases and portions of chambers (35).

I now return to the stupa (33). It seems to have been built here for a special reason close to the Jetavana, and I think I can point to the reason and identify it. On opening the cylindrical shaft in the middle of the stupa, I went to a depth of about 13 feet before I got anything. I then found a begging pot and alms bowl, black glazed pottery, built inside the shaft, and covered by a larger bowl inverted over them. I went several feet deeper, altogether about 25 feet down, and I found at the original base a large inverted bowl like that first found. I managed to lift it and what it covered without breaking the latter. The covering bowl had been cracked right across, probably in building it in. I opened the contents with care, and found a large soapstone casket. Inside this casket was a dark green porcelain bowl containing the charred ashes and some charred bone-joints of a deceased monk.

We know that when Sudatta promised to build Buddha a vihāra, he asked him to nominate a disciple to design the building, and that Buddha sent Sāriputta with Sudatta to Śrāvastī. Many years afterwards Sāriputta died at Nālanda. The disciples cremated him, but brought his ashes, alms bowl, and cloak to Buddha, who was at Rajagriha. Buddha brought the relics to Śrāvastī. Sudatta induced the Master to give them to him, and he built a stupa over them. Buddha himself gave instructions for the building of this relic-tower, and directed that it should contain a vase.

The relics found in the stupa 33 correspond, being a porcelain bowl, or vase, holding the ashes, inside a relic casket, and an alms bowl and begging pot. The most natural place to locate the stupa was in close proximity to the entrance of the building which Sāriputta had designed, near the spot where he had been victorious in disputes with

rival sects, nay more, on a part of the very site which Sudatta had originally purchased.

Round the base of the stupa were several small pagodas or memorial pillars, some square and some circular. On the west of it was a well. This probably was to supply with water the mendicants who lived in the cells around the stupa.

No. 36 represents certain walls discovered just as operations were drawing to a close, which seem more like the outline of one side of a gateway than anything else I can think of; but it would be wrong to do more than hazard this guess, as the counterpart has not yet been found, nor indeed looked for.

The line *rs* represents a long trench in which I found, still in excellent preservation, the greater part of a drain, or waterduct, made of tiles, probably used for conveying water for irrigating the garden of the monastery. The lines *lm*, *no*, and *pq*, are the trenches which revealed a very old building 37.

The lines *gh*, and *jk*, are very deep trenches which enabled me to touch the walls which further excavations laid bare, now marked in the triangle *ghk*, but it is only shown in this—as in other instances—that there is great need for a full exploration.

The lines of trenches *jjll*, *ffgg*, and *ffhh*, yielded more interesting discoveries: and here I believe I found the key to the whole excavation. As I stood one day looking at the octagonal well A, which stands in the middle of the present interior level of the whole ruins at Sahet, I reflected on General Cunningham's specious remarks in his second report on Srāvasti,* where he takes the part of the upper portion of the well being octagonal, with a slight inward inclination of the sides at the top, to be a mark of ingenuity on the part of the builders of the well. I saw that the inward inclination seemed to be in some of the sides only, and not to bear the marks of design, but of accident, owing to age or pressure, and I further questioned the probability of a well-builder varying the shaft of his well, building circular below and octagonal above. It would be a source of weakness. I then noticed that where the circular shaft ended there were horizontal bricks and slabs, and I felt sure that the original well must have ceased here. I then laid out the trenches *lljj*, *ffhh*, *ffgg*, and, when I had gone to a depth near the well, I came across the base of the pillar at T. This is the remains of a magnificent pillar 13 ft. square at the base. When I had exposed it, I made a small hole horizontally at the level of its foundation into the earth near the well, and I found in a few minutes that I touch-

* *Archæological Survey of India, vol. XI, p. 93.*

ed the masonry platform of the original mouth of the well, and that it had originally been only at the top of the circular part of the masonry. Clearly the octagonal part was an addition. Going on with my trenches I found U, V, to be circular bases in offset walls of buildings which had stood on the original level. W was a pillar similar to T, but of smaller dimensions. Here then I had touched the original level of the Jetavana, and here, in all probability, I had come across two of the memorial pillars, and possibly two of the smaller stupas referred to by the Chinese pilgrims. If this be so, the lowest level seen by General Cunningham was about 15 feet above the original ground of the Jetavana. This shows what has to be done before we shall be entitled to speculate on the identification of Gandha Kuti or Kosambha Kuti.

I have only now to refer to the trenches *ab*, *cd*, *de*. They have been cut to a depth in some parts of 20 feet and have revealed very old walls, but the result was little more than to give me an idea of the direction of the buildings. The long trench *cd*, showed at 31 the general outline of a wall which seemed to be the side of a long passage or hall, possibly the vestibule of a large building. No. 30 is a series of cells, but they rest on older cells, and in one place I found the remains of a staircase, as it seemed to me, leading to a lower chamber. In the earth which had closed up this staircase, I found a terra-cotta figure of a naked infant and two seals. I also found in one of the lower cells a large store of rice, which had been preserved from decomposition by close compression in the ruins. No. 29 is a masonry platform, seemingly a seat for monks at the back of the large building, of which 30 and 31 are parts. It is, however, part of a later building raised on the ruins of the older.

I have little left to say of the tangible memories of Set except to call attention to the very obvious reminiscence contained in the name of Chakkar Bhandár, the adjoining hamlet. It is clearly named from the chamber and the pillar surmounted by the wheel (*chakra*), which flanked one side of the east entrance of the Jetavana. The Chakkar is the wheel, and the Bhandár is the Sanscrit *bhándágara*, or storeroom, the chamber in which the commonwealth of the fraternity was stored. Chakkar Bhandár stands on ruins, lines of brick wall being clearly traceable in parts, and the hamlet should be explored with care and at the same time with due regard for the villagers' prejudices and home feelings. It is true that if Chakkar Bhandár be the actual site of the wheel-crowned pillar and adjoining storehouse, it will carry us further east for the main door than General Cunningham fancies it lay, but we must remember that the pillar was probably raised by Asoka, and that even in his lifetime the Jetavana must have grown far beyond the limit

of the small vihára built originally for the Master. A description of the Jetavana as it was in its prime is to be found in the Thibetan authorities which state that it contained sixty large halls and sixty small ones. Buddha himself—say these authorities, attributing everything to Buddha, as they always do,—gave instructions for the decoration. “On the outside door you must have figured a yaksha holding a club in his hand: in the vestibule you must have represented a great miracle, the five divisions (of beings) of the circle of transmigration: in the courtyard, the series of births (Játakas): on the door of Buddha’s special apartment (lit. hall of perfumes, Gandhakuti), a yaksha holding a wreath in his hand; in the house of the attendants (or of honour), bhikshus and sthaviras arranging the dharmma; on the kitchen must be represented a yaksha holding food in his hand; on the door of the store-house, a yaksha with an iron hook in his hands; on the water-house (well-house?), nágas with variously ornamented vases in their hands; on the wash-house (or the steaming house), foul sprites, or the different hells; on the medicine house, the Tathágata attending the sick; on the privy, all that is dreadful in a cemetery; on the door of the lodging house (? text effaced), a skeleton, bones, and a skull.* What is mentioned as the wash-house may be the Baitára Tál, a washing tank, and the Baitára be the evil-sprite.

IV.—*Mahet*.

The general map shows Mahet as a large walled enclosure with the gates W, X, Y, Z, but it would be impossible to indicate on it more than the eastern outline of the city. I have therefore prepared three sheets on a larger scale marked Mahet South, Mahet East, and Mahet West. These show the position of the parts of the city in which I made excavations. I refer to them in illustration of what follows.

MAHET SOUTH AND EAST.

The sheets of Mahet South and Mahet East show the thoroughfare from the gate Y, which I have named “Broad Street.” It leads up to the Kachcha Kuti, Pakka Kuti, and other buildings which I have wholly or partially exposed. While walking up this street we reach

* This quotation is directly taken from a note in Rockhill’s *Life of the Buddha* (p. 49), to which I am much indebted. I have merely to remark that the mention of ‘arranging the dharmma,’ as it probably refers to conferring over the sacred writings, and there were none until long after Buddha’s death, seems to indicate that the description of the monastery has been furnished by a visitor or resident who saw it in its complete state in later days. It is therefore all the more valuable as a guide in archæological exploration.

the walls of shops or houses on either side, which I have exposed, and which are marked by the lines *a, a, a*, and *b, b, b*, on either side of the street. The transverse lines *m, m*, and *n, n*, are the trenches which I dug when searching for these walls. In these shops or houses I found some old earthen pots and one copper Indo-Bactrian coin of no value. The settlement boundary pillar S stands to the north of the middle of a large open space, which was probably a market place. This would be easily determined by following out the lines of the walls of shops or residences which I have begun to expose, pushing them north and then following the turnings east and west.

The two largest mounds which attracted the notice of the explorer, as rising above the surrounding jungle, were those known in the neighbourhood as the Pakka Kutī and the Kachcha Kutī. I shall describe them first.

The Pakka Kutī is the place fixed on by General Cunningham as the Angulimālya stupa, but he seems to have had no ground for making this identification beyond the size and prominence of the mound. I have opened the mound, cleared the four sides and laid bare the main walls. I have also removed the earth from the main chamber (marked C in the drawing of the Pakka Kutī) and I cannot but conclude that this is not the Angulimālya stupa. In the first place there is no architectural arrangement, such as is clearly perceptible in the undoubted stupa elsewhere found, and in the next place I found in the bottom of the chamber in C, a portion of an older and more substantial wall (marked W), the fragment of an older building. I am inclined to think that this is the site of the Hall of the Law built by Prasenajit, and I think it is satisfactory in respect of situation with reference to the royal palace, which I believe stood round the place where Saiyad Miran's Dargāh now stands and extended a long way to the west of it. The tomb of this Moslem who was placed in charge of Mahet by the early Mussalman conquerors is likely to have been in the quarter occupied by the governor and his suite, and it is unlikely that they were located anywhere but in the buildings which the ruler whom they displaced had occupied. There are clear traces of regularly built and well laid out enclosed buildings in this part of the city, and I believe their exploration would reveal the accuracy of this location which I give to the palace. Not only does this location of the palace fit in with the situation in which the main Buddhist buildings in Mahet are found, but it suits the narrative of Pramati where it describes the ladies of the king's household going from the palace to the river side to bathe. Had the palace lain to the west of the city, they would have had to cross the whole city to make their ablutions and this is not a supposition favourable to the dignity of those ladies.

The Pakka Kuti, as I found it, seems to me to be a later building, or the repaired remnants of a later building, raised on the site of the old Hall of the Law, to mark it, and would thus be one of the memorial buildings mentioned by the Chinese pilgrims. Its true uses cannot be ascertained until all the chambers have been opened. I opened but one, that in the heart of the mound. The plan shows a bird's eye view, and the dotted lines mark a tunnel which I carried through the whole mound to drain it, and thus preserve it. I built strong masonry arches where each wall was cut. The labour of clearing the whole building would be great, as its external dimensions, 143 ft. long by 90 ft. wide, will show. The most curious feature of the building, as far as I explored it, is that in no place did I discover any door or window, and I could discern no staircase.

The Kachcha Kuti is a much more interesting mound. Of its character I have no doubt. The plan which I submit gives no idea, however, of the main impression which it creates. The outermost wall, of which only a portion was exposed, is an ornamental one, with a plastered cornice and coping and served to enclose a large building. The thick main wall of this building, shown on three sides in the plan, is a wall of similar design, which seems to have been carried out to a considerable height, and it undoubtedly was built up to support an older building, which had fallen into decay. I ascertained the existence of buried chambers by sinking a shaft at *p* to a depth of perhaps 20 ft. I then found that a chamber existed below and it seems to have communicated with others. I closed up this opening at *p* with a masonry cap to prevent the ingress of rain. In the passage *fg* I found tiles with a metallic glazing, some green and some blue, which seemed to be part of a floor over which a protective wall had been raised. These tiles were made of a fine preparation of some white substances, but the glazing chipped off readily. The herring-bone lines represent a curious slope made of tiles placed on their edges, which may have been either a graduated approach to a building or a roof covering a passage into one. The long spaces *a* and *b* on either side were clearly enclosed at a later date. The walls *mm* and *nn* were built as an ornamental front, and corresponded in style to similar walls *mn* and *ny* at the sides. They were clearly separate from the other walls *mw* and *wx* and *ny* *nz* which were built up later. In the enclosure *b* I found a clay figure of a monkey (Plate XXV, *d*), and a head of an image near it. From the character of the internal building, as far as I explored it, being that of a private dwelling, as well as from the fact of this being, as I think, the dwelling of a person of wealth, as its ornamentation shows, and its being built in all round to preserve it, I am inclined to surmise that it

may be Sudatta's house, which the pilgrims tell us was so built up, as a memorial of him after his death.

B, C, D, are minor buildings calling for no particular notice. Although carefully examined they yielded no results.

The mound which I have marked stupa A showed itself, where I had cut down the jungle near it, to be only less prominent than the two Kutis. I opened it with care and I soon found it to be what I consider a characteristic stupa. I found a circular tower in the centre, and round it the walls of an enclosing building. I opened it down to water-level but discovered nothing. This is, I believe, the Angulimálya Stupa. It stands on the north-east of a depression, marking what seems to be a street or road, that ran between it and the Kachcha Kuti to the market place round the boundary pillars, already mentioned. Thus the site fits in with the story of the Buddhist records, that the stupa was raised to mark the spot where Buddha stopped the robber chief as he was approaching him along a public street to take his life. It is not that raised at the place of his cremation. Had it been, it should have contained his relics.

The figure at E represents the outline of the central portion of a building crowning another mound yet unopened. It seems to be a stupa.

The place marked as Saiyad Míran's Dargáh is the small rectangular brick-wall enclosure in which are two tombs. Here was buried Saiyad Míran, a Moslem chief who was stationed at Set Mahet, according to the tradition, when the first permanent Muhammadan impression on Oudh was made. Outside the enclosure are to be seen other tombs. None are inscribed.

MAHET WEST.

The Jain quarters lay in the west of the city near the Imliya Darwaza, as the west gate is now called. The chief building of interest here is the Muhummadan-looking plastered construction which shows on the ruins of the temple of Somnáth, or Sobhnath, which is still venerated though now seldom visited by Jains. The antiquity of this spot cannot be doubted. Tradition assigns Srávasti as the birth-place of the teacher now venerated by the Jains as their third patriarch. His life falls within the period of unhistorical tradition, and was probably posterior to the Buddhist age. This is so, as the founder of Jainism was a contemporary of Buddha, and we have not met with any personage in the history of Buddha or his successors who corresponds to Somnath. It is only an anachronism which makes Mahavíra the last Jain patriarch. Tradition, while fixing on the site of the shrine of Somnath at Mahet as the birth-place, or, possibly, the residential cell and teaching centre, of the

eponymous patriarch, states that the shrine contained a statue of each patriarch when it was in its complete state. I have therefore opened the mound of Somnath with great care. I have been so fortunate as to recover on this occasion images of seven several patriarchs here. I had previously recovered some images in 1875-76, and had also pieced together the image there lying in the shrine of Somnath. It was one of Sumati, the fifth patriarch. I brought them all into Gondah where I left them to be placed in the Anjuman; but they are now lying in fragments among the rockeries of a chick house in the public garden. I propose to remove the pieces which make up the image of Sumati and send them to the Lucknow Museum.

The plastered building, which now crowns the mound of Somnath, is Pathan in style: and I have a suspicion that it is a tomb of some Mussalman who fell here in some assault. I have not opened it. I have almost wholly cleared the mound round it, and but little more labour would have been needed to open it to its full depth, but this would have probably led to the fall of the domed structure on the top. The most remarkable point about Somnath is that there are traces of an ancient enclosing wall on the south which shows there was at one time a courtyard fronting a large building. When this building fell there was another built above it, and it was similarly succeeded by another, and so on, until we have traces of at least four buildings distinct in style and age, before the final Mussalman erection. A reference to the large plan of Somnath shows a bird's eye view of the walls exposed, but I regret I had no means of procuring a drawing or photograph of the floral pilaster of the building of the second age on the south, or of the cornice of a somewhat later building in the middle. These were of exceptionally neat and elegant design. The floral bricks seem to have been chiselled to remove inequalities after they had been moulded and baked. I have in figures 11 to 31 on plate XXVI shown some of the floral bricks worked into this building.

The images I have recovered at, or near, Somnath are shown in the accompanying plates. One of them bears a Sanscrit inscription recording that it was dedicated in Samvat 1133 by Sutan Pandit. This is possibly the period of a revival of Jainism, and restoration of shrines, after the first wave of Muhammadan invasion had swept by.

There were two other Jain temples near Somnath, the ruins of which I fully opened. They are marked J 1 and J 2. There were three small separate cells, or shrines, in J 2. The images were all found in the northern and middle shrines. The cell to the south was empty. One of these images too, bore the Sanskrit inscription mentioned above, which I consider points to the restoration of these shrines at the same time.

The building marked C was also exposed. It seems to have been a private house.

The building H is decidedly Hindu. I have almost completely opened the mound and I have found that the three cells or shrines correspond remarkably with those in J 2, and they seem to have been built on the outline of older ones of the same shape, which I found when I opened the mound. I consider the temple which stood here to be the reconstruction, or restoration, of the original Hindu shrine and to be one of the oldest buildings in Mahet. If the portion of the Chinese pilgrim's narrative which speaks of the rival temples of Hindu and Buddhist's priests can be held to refer to any buildings within the city, it may be that this is the temple of the heretics, of which it is said that it was overshadowed by a Buddhist fane. There are mounds near, in one of which a rival Buddhist fane may yet be discovered.

S. is the settlement boundary-pillar and lies in the centre of a space where several roads seem to have met. One passed up close by H to Somnath.

V. BUDDHIST STONE-INSRIPTION.

The inscription consists of 18 lines (inclusive of the date), and these lines comprise 17 ślokas in various metres.

I sent two rubbings of the inscription to Mr. Fleet, who submitted them to Professor Kielhorn, whose reading and translation have been published in the *Indian Antiquary*. I regret that, at the time when I forwarded these rubbings, I was under the impression that I had established the spelling of the words to be *Seṭ Mahet*, and this led me to accept an erroneous derivation which Professor Kielhorn published. I have since satisfied myself that there is no sufficient reason to suppose that *t* should be written instead of *t* in the name, although the accuracy of *Set* instead of *Sahet* cannot be doubtful.

I had considerable misgiving as to the rendering of some expressions by Professor Kielhorn, and I have therefore obtained a reading and translation with notes from two competent Sanscrit scholars, Kunwar Jawála Prasád of the Statutory Civil Service, and Pandit Murlidhar of Maudha. The result is a very materially improved and more lucid interpretation, which I readily accept, as it harmonizes with the Buddhist character of the record.

The gist of the inscription is that a Solar King, named Mándhátá, built a fortified city called Jávrishia, in which dwelt many Srívástav Káyasths. A head of one of these families, named Vilvaśiva, had a son called Janaka, who became prime minister to Gopála, the sovereign of Kannauj, and married Jijjá. The issue of this marriage was six sons.

The eldest was Pippaṭa and the fifth Vidhyádharma. The latter was a man of high mental and moral endowments and was also distinguished for his skill in the management of elephants. The monarch, Madana, endeavoured, chiefly on the ground of this accomplishment, to make Vidhyádharma content and happy in his service, but he forsook the Saivic cult, and embraced Buddhism, and devoted his wealth to the foundation and endowment of a monastery, a vihára, which probably took the form of a restoration of the Jetavana at Set.

BUDDHIST STONE-INSCRIPTION FROM SET, OF SAMVAT 1176.

L. 1. Om namo vítarágáya ॥ máránasṭa niyama dikshvadhípatí-náyojya satvodaye durllañghyáñyavamanya sañvararipo rájñáksharányá-dritaḥ ॥ uddhartum yatate sma yaḥ karuṇayá śrí—

L. 2. Sákyaśiṅho jagadbodhiñ prápya cha buddhatámabhigataḥ sa tváñ paritráyatáñ ॥ sañsaráñbhodhitáráya tárámuttáralochanáñ ॥ vande gírvvánaváñínáñ bháratímadhídevatám ॥

L. 3. Máñdhátákhyah śatrujichchhakra-tulyo vañse bhánor bhánu-tejotísáyí ॥ nityánandí sádhu bhoktá trilokíñ rájñámádyaschakravartí babhúva ॥ svechchhan bhrámyan kadáchit sara—

L. 4. Siruharajoráji-chitrikritámabhḥ samyag drishtvá sarontar-mada-kala-sakuni-vráta-rábábhíramyñ ॥ kartuñ kírtē-r-vitánañ sucharitamudito mridbhirápúrya yatnát karkkoṭádhínara—

L. 5. kshañ svapuramidamatho nirmame jávriśhákhyañ ॥ tasminna-bhúvan dhaninotidhanyáh śrípúrvvavástavyakulapradípáh ॥ adyápi yadvañsabhaváir yaśobhirjjaganti subhírair dhavalí.

L. 6. kriyante ॥ teshámabhúdabhijane jaladhávivendu riñdudyutiḥ prathita-vilva-sivábhidhánah ॥ yasya smaráricharāñambujavatsalasya lakshmir dvijáti-sujanárthijanopabho

L. 7. gyá ॥ saujanyañbunidhe rudáracharítapratyasyamánainasaḥ sádhúnámudayaikadháma-jananí-sthána-sriyah satvabhúḥ ॥ tasyásíjjanako janíva hridayah putraḥ satáma—

L. 8. granír mányo gádhípurádhípasya sachivo gopála-námnaḥ sudhíḥ ॥ tenochchkairabhijanámbunidheḥ prasútá lakshmirívachyuta-vibhúshñakántamúrthiḥ ॥ ánakandaja—

L. 9. naní janání-kulánáñ jijjeti sañbhritakulasthitinopayeme ॥ tábhyámabhúbañ stanayáh shaḍeva shaḍbhírmukhai rekatanur ya ekaḥ ॥ jyáyán sutaḥ pippaṭa námadhe—

L. 10. yo dhímánivágniprabhavaḥ sívábhyañ ॥ tatpañchamaḥ pañchasaránukarí tayo-stanújo tanukírtikandaḥ ॥ vidyávabodhádánukirtiyate yo vidyádhāro náma yathārtha—

L. 11. námá ॥ rasádhikamabhivyápi girísacharañásritañ ॥ hañsíva

mánsañ yasya jaháti sma na bháratí ॥ mádhuryañ madhuno sudhá hima-
rucheránanda medhávitá mi—

L. 12. thyaivámunidhergabhírima guṇastuṅgatva madreralañ |
yasyaikaikaguṇádhironaḡireḡ saujanyaśáñdrolasatpíyúshaikanidher
guṇena guṇinaḡ sarvvepyadhśchakrire ॥ yasmái

L. 13. gajágamarahasyavide gajánámánandaníñ kalayale dhura-
muddhuráya | bhúpalamáulitilako madanaḡ pradánamánádibhiḡ kshiti-
patiḡ sprihayáñ babhúva ॥ devá

L. 14. layáñḡ prathayatá nijakírtimuchchaiḡ pushyadvija-vrajamude
tumulambabhúya | yenárjjitañ draviṇamárta-janopakári jívánusambhrita-
mudámudarambharíñ ॥ satvasárthapa

L. 15. ritráṇakritakáyaparigrahaḡ | abhúdabhútapurvvoyañ bodhi-
satva iváparaḡ ॥ átmaññánakritodayena vigaladrágádidosháśrayaprodga-
chchhanmanasá vichárya bahuso

L. 16. Madhyasthatáñ saugate tenárádhitasatpathena yaminámá-
nandamúlálayo nirmmayyotsasrije viháravidhiná kírtterivaikáśrayaḡ ॥
sadbodhavañdyachari—

L. 17. tasya nayaikadhámna śchañdráavadátahridayaḡ sumatiḡ
kaláván | asya priyeshu nirataḡ subhagañ bhavishṇuḡ sambandha bandhu-
rudayí vidadhe prasastim ॥

5. Samvat 1176.

श्रीं नमो वीतरागाय ॥ मारानष्ट नियम्य दिक्षधिपतीनायोज्य सत्वोदये दुर्लभ्याण्यवमन्य
संवररिपोराज्ञाचराण्यादृतः । उद्धर्तुं यतते स्म यः करुणया श्री

साक्यसिंहो जगद्धोधिं प्राप्य च बुद्धतामभिगतः स त्वां परित्रायतां ॥ संसारांभोधिताराय
तारासुत्तारलोचनां । वन्दे गीर्वाणवाणीनां भारतीमधिदेवताम् ॥

मांधाताख्यः शत्रुजिच्छक्रतुल्यो वंसे भानो भानुतेजोतिसायी । नित्यानन्दी साधु भोक्ता
त्रिलोकीं राज्ञामाद्यश्चक्रवर्ती बभूव ॥ खेच्छन् भ्राम्यन् कदाचित् सर-

सिरुहरजोराजिचित्रीकृताम्नः सम्यग् दृष्ट्वा सरोन्तर्मदकलसकुनित्रातरावाभिरम्यं । कर्तुं
कीर्त्तेर्वितानं सुचरितमुदितो सृङ्गिरापूर्य यत्नात् कर्कोटाधीनर ।

त्वं स्वपुरमिदमथो निर्ममे जाटषाख्यं ॥ तस्मिन्नभूवन् धनिनोऽतिधन्याः श्रीपूर्ववास्तवकुल-
प्रदीपाः । अद्यापि यदंसभवै र्यशोभिर्जगन्ति सुभ्रै र्धवली

क्रियन्ते ॥ तेषामभूदभिजने जलधाविवेन्दुरिन्दुयुतिः प्रथितविल्वशिवाभिधानः । यस्य
स्मरारिचरणाम्बुजवत्सलस्य लक्ष्मी द्विजातिसुजनार्थिजनोपभो-

ग्या ॥ सौजन्यांनुनिधे रुदारचरितप्रत्यस्यमानैःनसः साधूनामुदयैकधाम-जननीस्थानश्रियः
सत्वभूः । तस्यासीज्जनको जनौव हृदयः पुत्रः सताम ।

ग्रणी र्मान्यो गाधिपुराधिपस्य सचिवो गोपालनाम्नः सुधीः ॥ तेनोच्चकैरभिजनाम्बुनिधेः
प्रसूता लक्ष्मीरिवाच्युतविभूषणकान्तमूर्तिः । आनन्दकन्दज-

ननी जननीकुलानां जिज्जेति संभृतकुलस्थितिनोपयेमे ॥ ताभ्यामभूवं स्नानयाः षडेव
षड्भिर्मुखै रेकतनु र्य एकः । ज्यायाब् सुतः पिप्पटनामधे-

यो धीमानिवाग्निप्रभवः शिवाभ्यां ॥ तत्पंचमः पंचसरानुकारी तयोस्तनूजो तनुकीर्त्ति-
कन्दः । विद्यावबोधादनुकीर्त्त्यते यो विद्याधरो नाम यथार्थ-

नामा ॥ रसाधिकमभिव्यापि गिरीशचरणश्रितं । हंसैव मानसं यस्य जहाति स्म न
भारती ॥ माधुर्यं मधुनो सुधा हिमरुचेरानन्दमेधाविता मि ।

थ्यैवाम्बुनिधे र्गभीरिसगुण सुंगत्वमद्रेरलं । यस्यैकैकगुणाधिरोहणगिरिः सौजन्यसांद्रोलसत्पौ
यूपैकनिधे गुणेन गुणिनः सर्वेष्यधश्चक्रिरे ॥ यस्मै

गजागमरहस्यविदे गजानामानन्दनीं कलयते धुरमुद्गराय । भूपालमौलितिलको मदनः
प्रदानमानादिभिः क्षितिपतिः स्पृहयांबभूव ॥ देवा-

लयैः प्रथयता निजकीर्त्तिमुच्चैः पुष्यद्विजव्रजसुदेतुमलम्बभूव । येनार्जितं द्रविणमार्त्तजनपो
कारि जीवानुसम्भृतमुदासुदरम्भरीणां ॥ सत्वसार्थप-

रित्राणकृतकायपरिग्रहः । अभूद्भूतपूर्वोयं बोधिसत्व इवापरः ॥ आत्मज्ञानकृतोदयेन
विगलद्रागादिदोषाश्रयप्रोद्गच्छन्मनसा विचार्य बद्धसो

मध्यस्थतां सौगते तेनाराधितसत्पथेन यमिनामानन्दमूलालयो निर्मथ्योत्सृष्टजे विहार-
विधिना कीर्त्तेरिवैकाश्रयः ॥ सद्बोधवंद्यचरि । तस्य नयैकधाम्नश्चंद्रावदातहृदयः सुमतिः
मलावान् । अस्य प्रियेषु निरतः सुभगं भविष्युः सम्बन्धवन्धुरदयी विदधे प्रसस्तिम् ॥

५ संवत् ११७६ ॥

OM ! SALUTATION TO HIM WHO HAS DONE WITH PASSIONS.

May the revered and illustrious Sákya Siñha who, having curbed the Mára¹ by the eight-fold Path² for controlling the passions; who, having directed the thoughts of the rulers of various quarters to the spread of righteousness; who, having ignored the imperial behests, difficult of avoidance, of Káma (lit. the enemy of Sañvara³), in his pity

¹ This seems to be 'pluralis majesticus,' or plural to cover the personification or phases of Mára : Káma. Krodha, etc.

² Ashta niyamyā : ashta does not go with Máraṅ but with niyamyā, for it alludes, this being a Buddhist inscription, to the 'eight-fold path' (see Oldenberg's translation by Hoey, p. 128).

³ Sañvara ripu : the enemy of Sañvara, i. e., Káma, the destroyer of the

strove to set free this world; and who, having attained enlightenment,⁴ reached the Buddhahood, protect thee!

I invoke the guiding Bháratí,⁵ the deity tutelary of the diction of the gods, whose eyes are superbly brilliant⁶ as the stars, to put me o'er the ocean of transmigratory life.

Mándhátá, the conqueror of his foes, peer of Indra, in the dynasty of the Sun, more resplendent than that luminary, happy evermore, holding in virtuous enjoyment the three worlds, was a king of kings, a universal sovereign.

While he was roving about once upon a time at his pleasure, having carefully observed a lake with its waters painted with the tints of the pollen of the lotus, and joyous with the song of flocks of happy singing birds, he, who delighted in good deeds, with a view to extend his fame, by great exertions filled in earth, and then built this town of his, Jávrisha,⁷ depending on the Karkkoṭa for its safety.⁸

In it there were affluent and highly fortunate lights of families of the Vástavya, which has Srí as its prefix,⁹ a stock by whose radiant fame worlds are yet made lustrous.

deity Sañvara. The legend of the killing of this deity is narrated in the Bhágavat Purán. Cf. Sañvarári and Sañvarasúdana.

⁴ This might also be rendered: 'having reached the Bodhi Tree.'

⁵ Bháratí is the goddess Sarasvatí. The word rendered 'guiding' is tárá, 'one who puts across,' and may be considered as a play on tárá, and mean 'radiant.' There is a further play on the word as it is the name of a later Buddhist goddess.

⁶ Uttáralochana: ut + tára + lochana, excessively + brilliant (or star) + eye. This may be also 'eye toward stars,' which would mean 'with eyes turned up to the stars.' If tárá be taken as 'pupil of the eye,' the meaning would be 'with protruding pupils,' but, as this would hardly be complimentary to a mortal, it would be less complimentary to a deity. A play on words may also be detected in the name lochana, applied to a Buddhistic goddess, but it is too far-fetched to have been contemplated by the author.

⁷ This may also be read Ajávrisha. Can this be Jais in Oudh?

⁸ Karkkoṭa is also spelt karkoṭa. The duplication of the *k* being a common occurrence in the case of letters over which *r* is written. The following text from the Viśva Kośa explains the word: 'Karkoṭo vrikshabhede cha vapre śaile tathaiva cha,' *i. e.*, karkoṭa signifies a kind of tree, a rampart, and also a hill. The kind of tree is the vilva or bel tree, I believe. Forts were not unusually fenced in ancient days, and in fact up to a late date in some parts of India, with a thicket of bamboos, prickly pear or other thorny plant, to impede the advance of an enemy. Karkkoṭa is also one of the principal Nágas mentioned in the Mahábhárata, in the 25 section of the Ádi Parvva.

⁹ 'Purvva' denotes 'beginning with,' and this passage clearly means the sub-clan of families which goes by the name of Srí-vástavya. This is most interesting because the word designates a class of Kayasthas, who are now corruptly termed

As the moon from the ocean, so there was born in their family one radiant like the moon, who was known by the name of *Vilvaśiva*.¹⁰ The wealth of him, who was devoted to the lotus-feet of the enemy of *Smara* (*i. e.*, *Sīva*), was a means of enjoyment to the twice-born, to the good, and to the needy.

To him, the ocean of generous deeds, who was hurling back sin with lofty actions, was born a son, *Janaka*, a peerless shelter for the encouragement of the virtuous, an ornament to his birth-place, a mine of goodness, with a tender heart, a pioneer of the pious, (who became) the wise and trusted minister of *Gopāla*,¹¹ the ruler of *Gádhipura*.¹²

With him who duly maintained the dignity of his house, was mated a maiden of noble lineage, called *Jijjá*, who was a source of joy to her kinsfolk on the mother's side, and who having her fair form decked with well-fitting¹³ jewellery resembled the ocean-born *Lakshmí*, whose fair form is an ornament to the unfailing one (*Vishṇu*).

From these two there were born exactly six sons. The eldest, called *Pippaṭa*, the wise, though he was but one, was like the six-faced and one-bodied fire-born son of *Sīva* and his consort.¹⁴

'*Sribástam*,' and among some of them there is a tradition which connects their origin with the city of *Srávastí*, where this inscription was found.

This method of expressing names is not un-common. Cf. *S'yámánta námapatiná ghanapurvakeṇa*, which yields the name *Ghanaśyáma*.

¹⁰ The association of the word *vilva* with *Sīva* in this name is a pretty conceit. The leaves of the *vilva* (or *bel*, as it is now called) are sacred to *Sīva* and presented as an offering to him: and the further context shows that he, who bore the name, was a follower of *Sīva*.

¹¹ Some years ago I found at *Asai* on the *Jumna* in *Etawah* district, some inscribed stones, chiefly Jain images, which mentioned *Pála* rulers, said to have reigned at *Kanauj*. One ran: 'Samvat 1227, *Phálgun Sudi 9*, *Somdíma, rá,ut Srí Rudrapála*.'

¹² *Gádhipura* is *Kányakubja*, the modern *Kanauj*. Some say it is the modern *Gházipur*.

¹³ The word here used is *achyuta*, which literally means 'not falling,' and the same word is used of *Vishṇu* at the end of this paragraph. In the latter case it is a name often used of *Vishṇu*. In the former case it has been imported for the sake of the pun.

¹⁴ The eldest of the six sons is compared to *Kárttikeya* (son of *Sīva* and his consort *Párvatí*, *n. b.*, *Sívábhyám*, dual), who is said to have been six-faced and one-bodied. "He was born of *Sīva* without the intervention of his wife, his generative "energy being cast into the fire and then received by the *Ganges*, whence he is "sometimes described as son of *Agni* and *Gangá*; when born he was fostered by six "Krittikás or *Pleiades*, who offering their six breasts, the child became six headed" (*vid. Monier Williams; Sanc. Dict. s. v. Kárttikeya*). This legend explains the names *Shadánana* and *Shánmátura* (*Colebrooke's Amarakosha*, p. 7, ed. 1825).

The fifth¹⁵ of these six sons of theirs who resembles “the five-
arrowed” (Káma), and who is the cause of no small fame, who is cele-
brated for his learning and intellectual power, is named Vidyádhara
(wisdom-possessor), an apposite name.

His mind, of mighty grasp and perfect taste, devoted to the feet of
Giríśa, Bháratí forsaketh not, even as the swan forsaketh not the broad
Mánasa lake, reposing with its vast store of water at the feet of the Lord
of Mountains (Himálaya).¹⁶

Illusive are the sweetness of honey, the nectar of the cool-beamed
moon with its mirth-producing property (lit. efficiency), the deep-
ness of ocean’s store, and the height of mountain-peaks. A truce to
such! Each and every quality-endowed hath been dwarfed by the
qualities of him [Vidyádhara] who is the hill for each meritorious qua-
lity to ascend, and the one fountain of the full-bodied, sparkling nectar
of a goodly life.

Him, versed in the mysteries of elephant lore, and dauntless driver
of the pleasant yoke of elephants, the monarch Madava, the forehead-
gem of kings, by gifts, honours, and the like sought to win.

The wealth amassed by him (Vidyádhara), who raised his fame on
high by building shrines for the gods, a wealth that relieved the poor
and filled the bellies of those gratified by the nourishment of life, was
more than enough for the crowd of twice-born whom he maintained.

He, who had assumed a human form for the deliverance of the
whole range of sentient beings, was, so to speak, a second Bodhisatva,
such as never before had been.

By him, who, illuminated by the light of the knowledge of *Átman*,
reflecting often in his mind, which had risen free from the *ásryas*¹⁷ of

¹⁵ Here a play on words comes in, the fifth son being compared to the five-
arrowed god, Káma.

¹⁶ This *śloka* is remarkable for its conceits which lie in the double significance
of the words: *rasa*, *abhivyápi*, *giríśa*, and *mánasa*, in comparing Bháratí’s love for
Vidyádhara’s mind with the swan’s love of the Mánasa lake. There is also one
additional point given by the mention of the swan, as it is Sarasvatí’s (*i. e.* Bháratí’s)
váhana. The *śloka* is of immense importance as it gives the date of the inscrip-
tion.

Rasa is a symbol for six, *giri* for seven (*cf.* *naga*) and *íśa* for eleven. *Rasádhikam*
giríśacharanáśritam (*sc.* *Samvatsaram*); ‘the Samvat year resting on the base *giri*-
‘*íśa* with *ras* added.’ This gives 117 with 6 added afterwards, *i. e.*, 1176. The
order of the symbolic words used here fulfils the conditions of the rule *ankánám*
vámato gatiḥ, *i. e.*, ‘numerical symbols are counted backwards.’ The first symbol
rasa (six) is read last, *íśa* (eleven) first, and *giri* (seven) between them.

¹⁷ The *ásryas* are organs of sense as the entrance of evil according to Buddhists
and the evils are the various passions aroused by the perceptions of sense.

the evils of emotion and the other passions which were evanescent, on the *madhyasthatá*¹⁸ of Saugata, had entered the True Path, was built and given to ascetics in the form usual in the case of monasteries,¹⁹ a delight-giving dwelling to be, as it were, the one monument of his fame.

One who cherishes whatever is dear to (Vidyádhara) that matchless mine of polity, whose acts are highly esteemed by the followers of True Knowledge, a kinsman of his named Udayí, moon-like in the pureness of his heart, well meaning and skilful, being highly favored, has composed this panegyric.

5 ²⁰ Samvat 1176.

¹⁸ Madhyasthatá. This would at first sight possibly seem to refer to one of the five Buddhist schools, but on closer examination this seems untenable. What is meant is the equilibrium of Saugata (*i. e.*, of a follower of Buddha), the state of the Nirvána in this life.

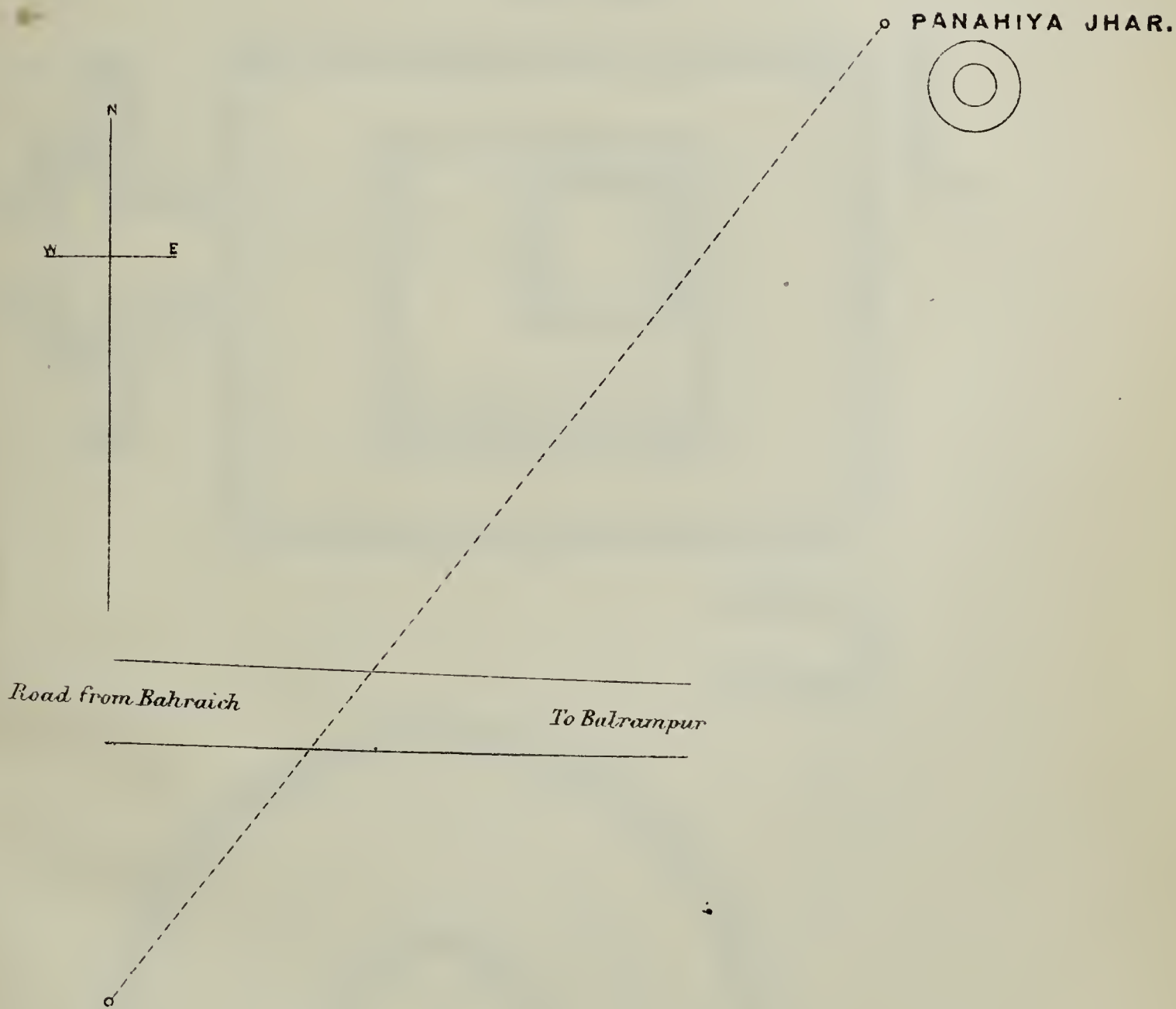
¹⁹ A monastery is dedicated to the Sañgha or community of Buddhists at large, and not to any one ascetic. Buddha left a formula for this conveyance.

²⁰ The 5 before Samvat is in accordance with the usage of astrological almanacs to this day. It denotes the Pancháng, or 'five members' of each day, which are noted in the śloka : tithivárancha nakshatram yogam karaṇamevach eti panchángam. Five columns are ruled in these almanacs and one devoted to each *ang* for each day. A suggestion has been made, which is not probably correct, that 5 stands for the five syllables of Vikramáditya.

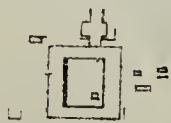
GENERAL MAP



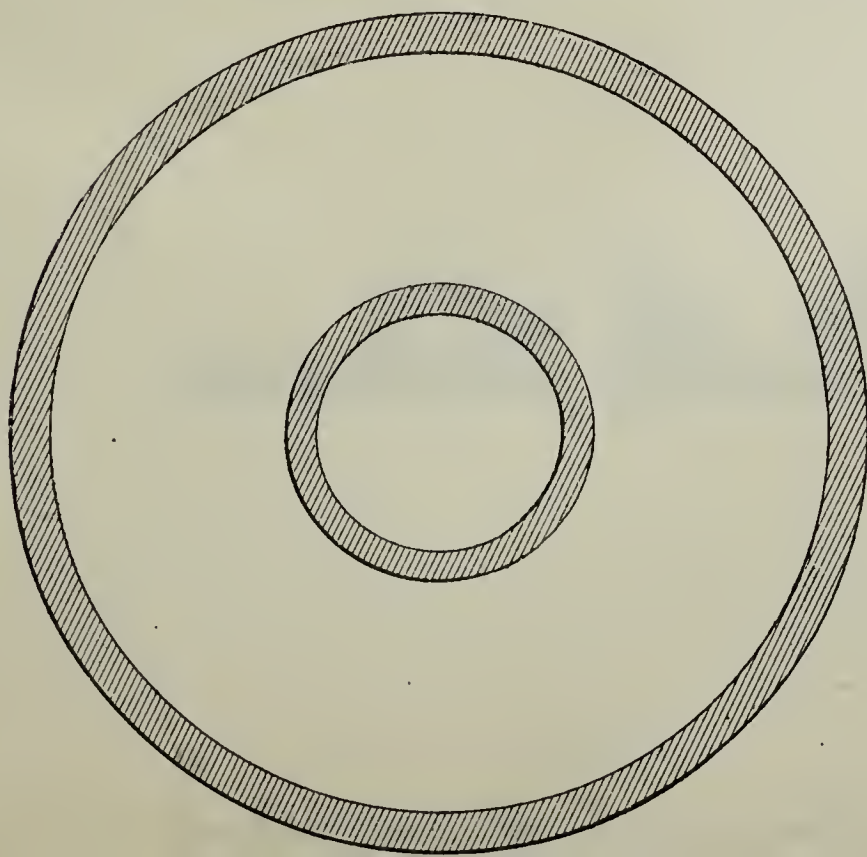
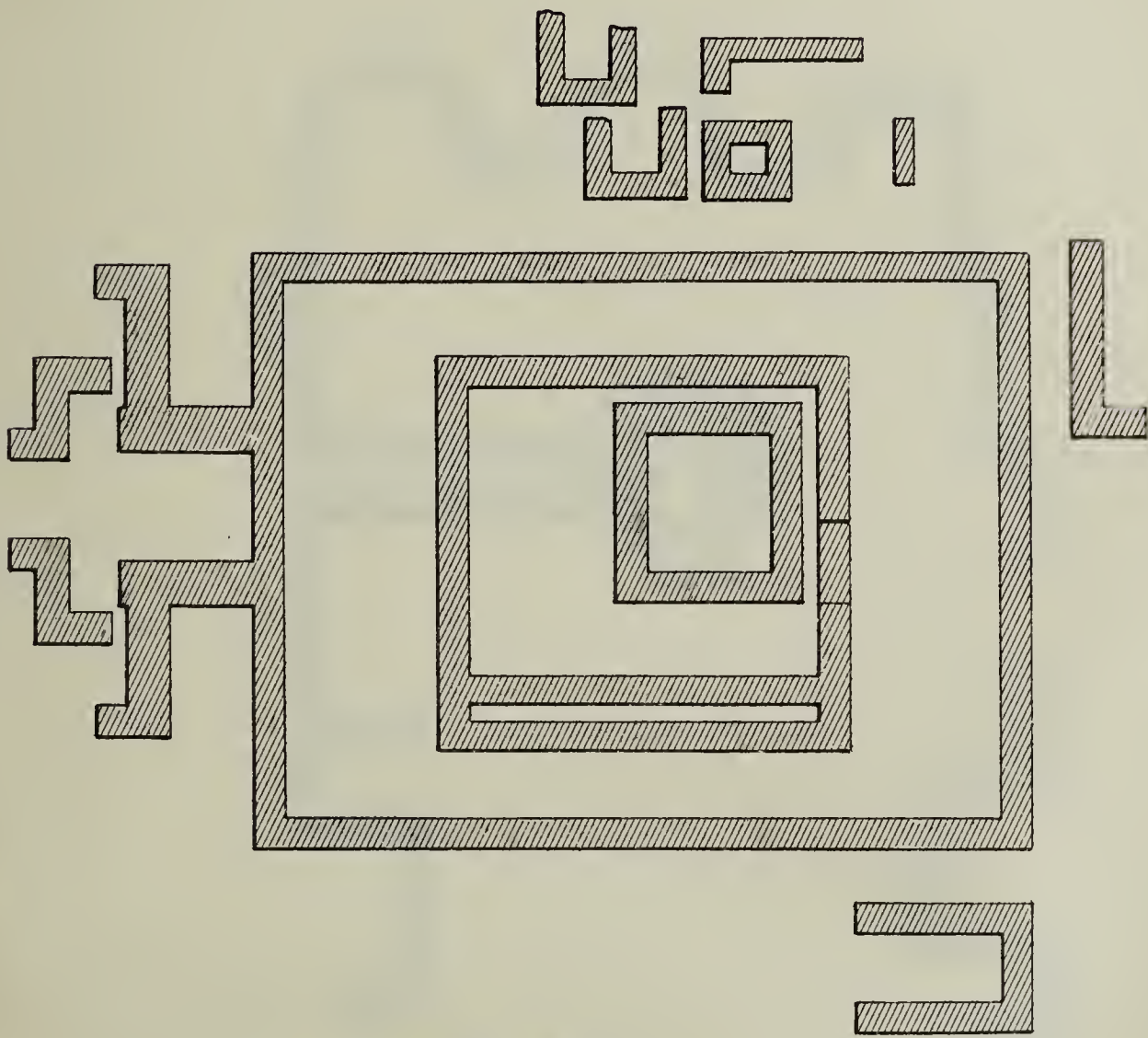
ORA JHAR PANAHIYA JHAR.



ORA JHAR.

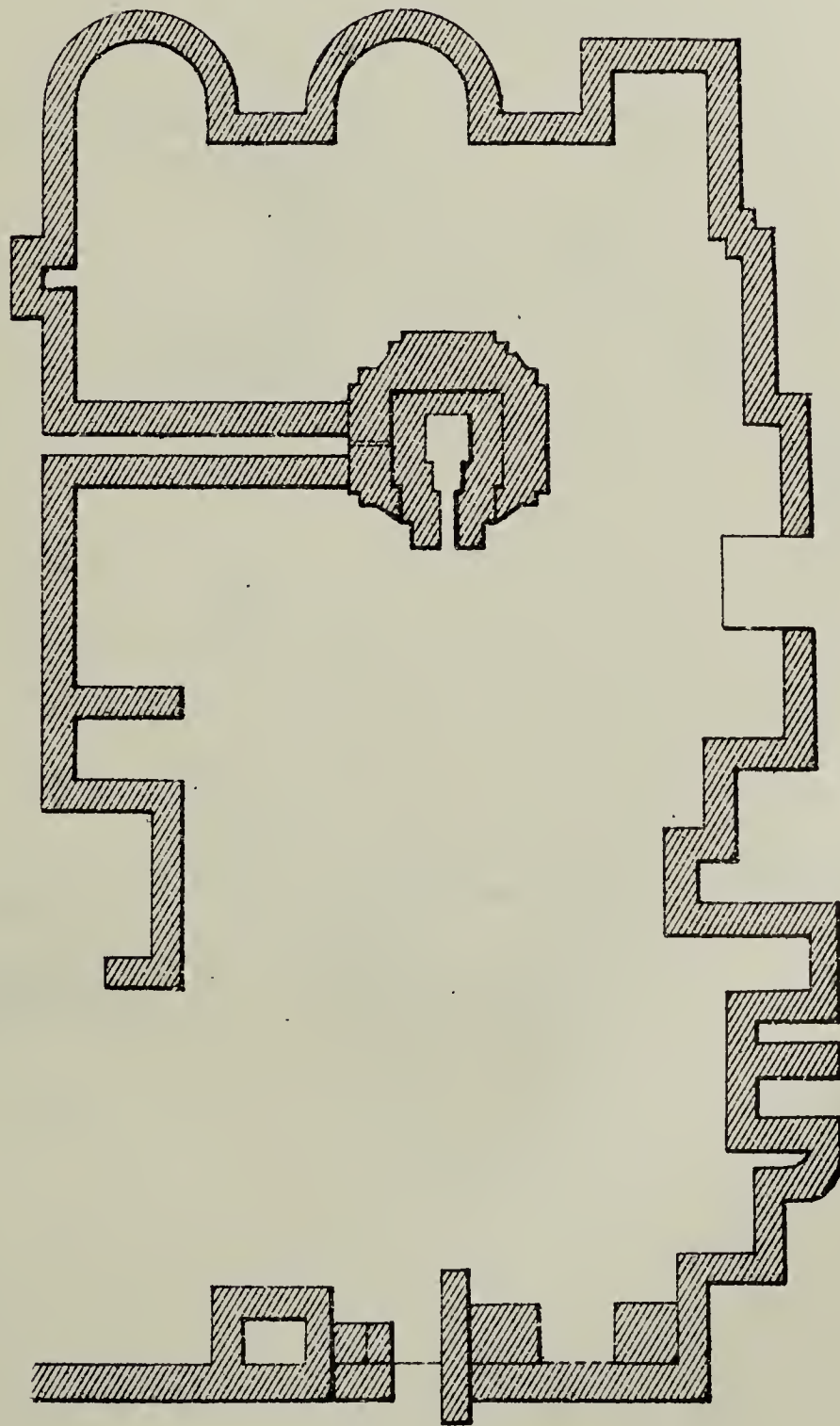


ORA JHAR
and
PANAHIYA JHAR.

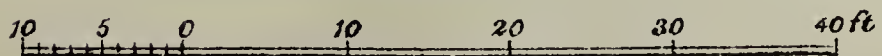


MAHADEO

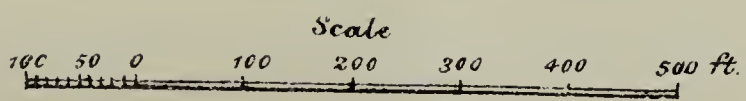
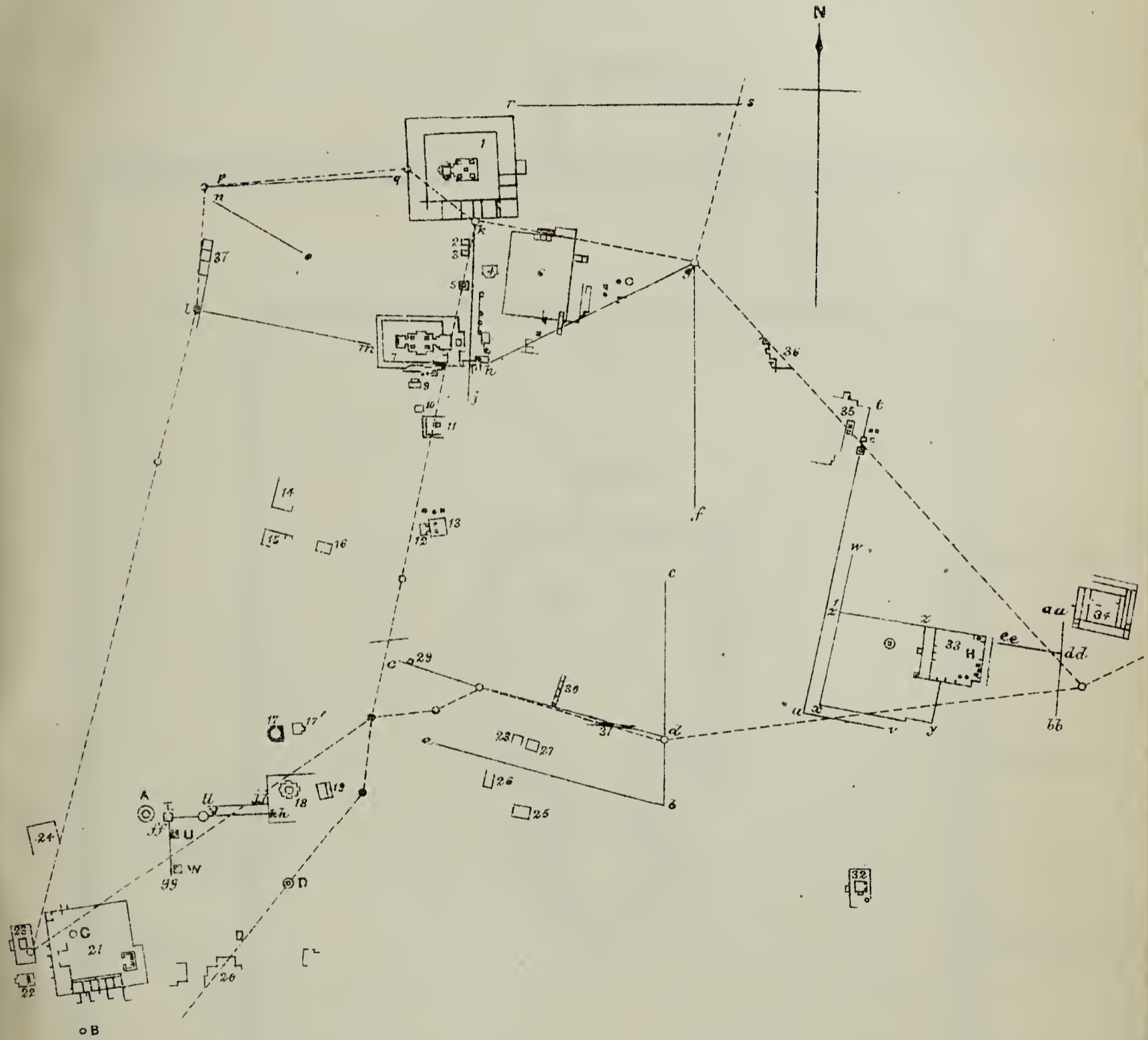
Near Kandh Bari



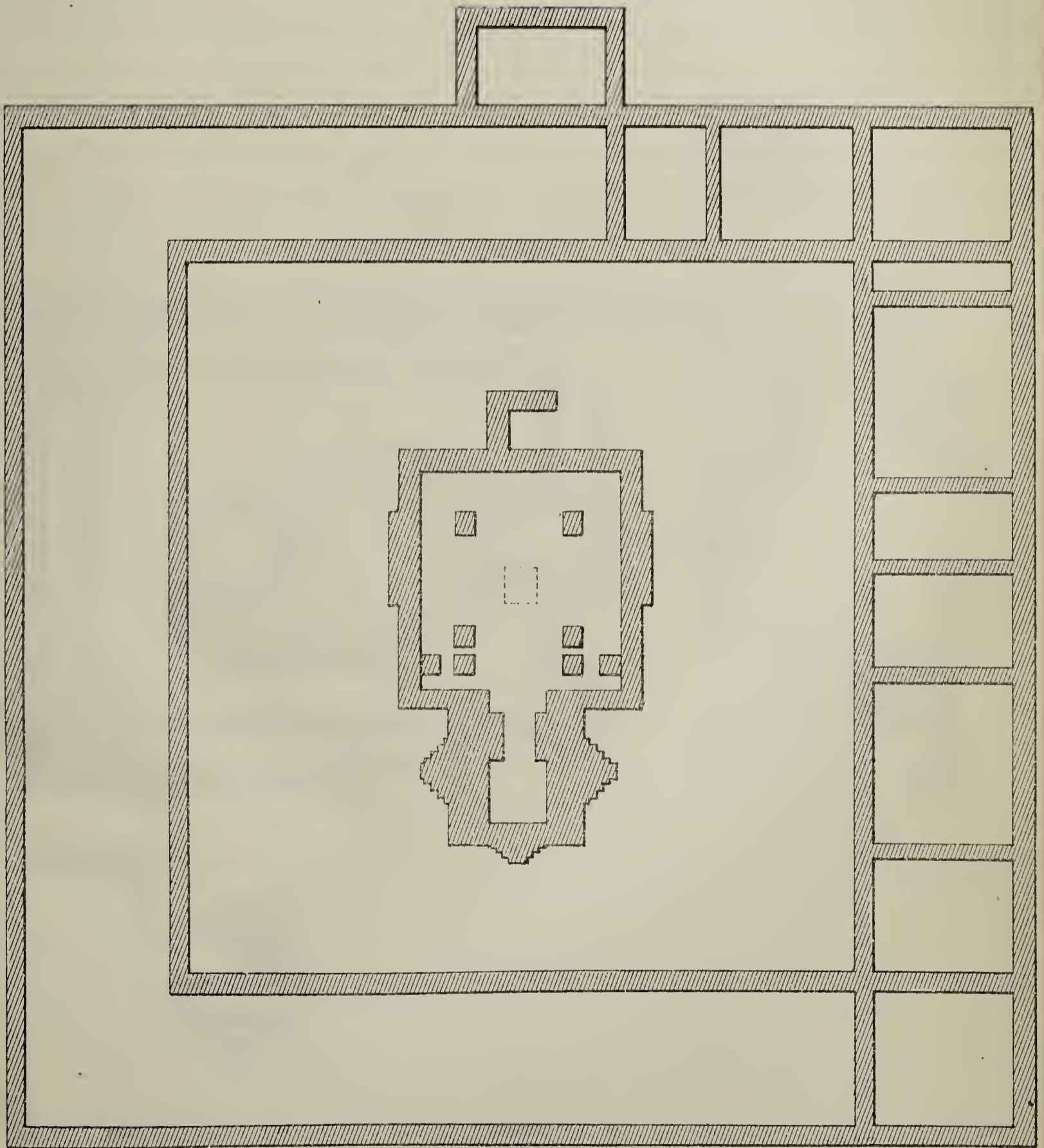
Scale



SAHET OR SET



Building No. 1 in Sahet.

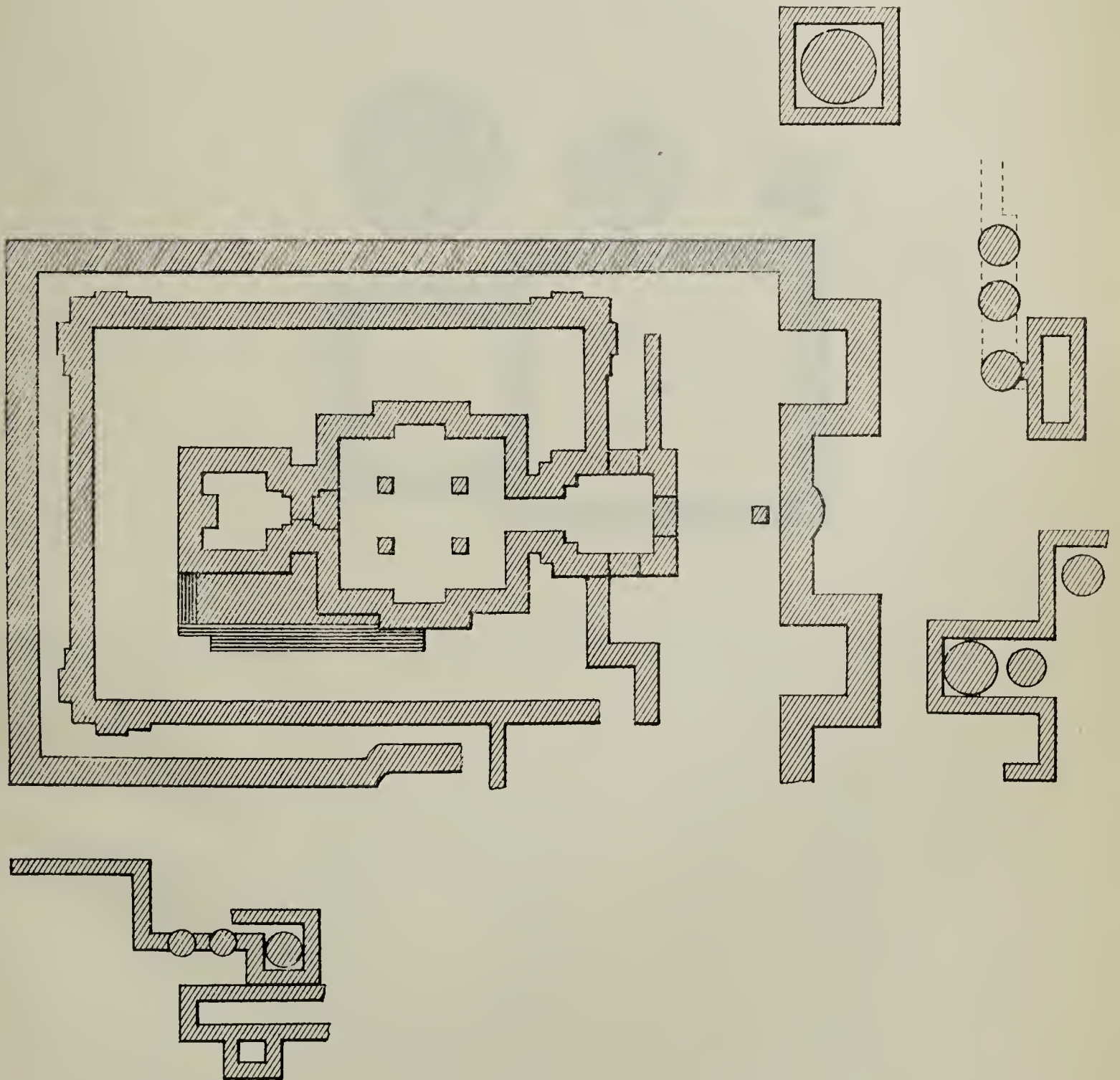


Scale

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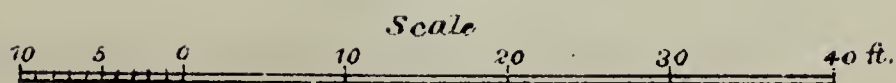
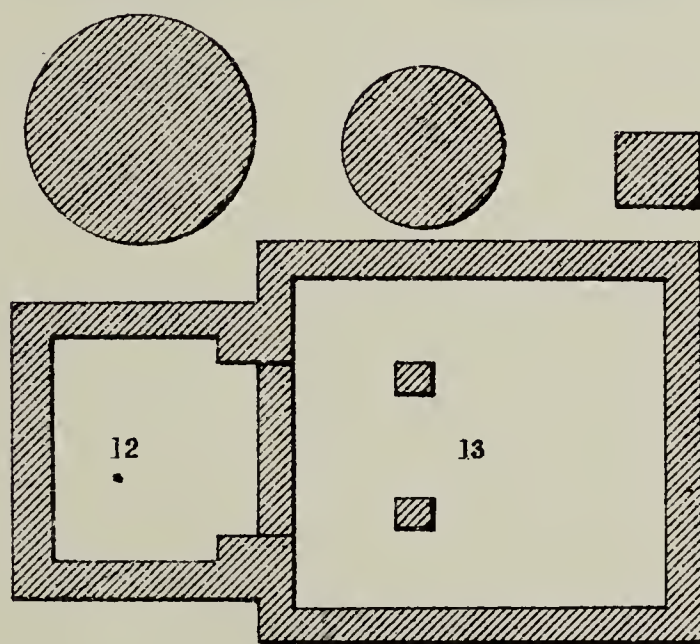
GANDHA KUTI.

Building No. 7 in Sahet.

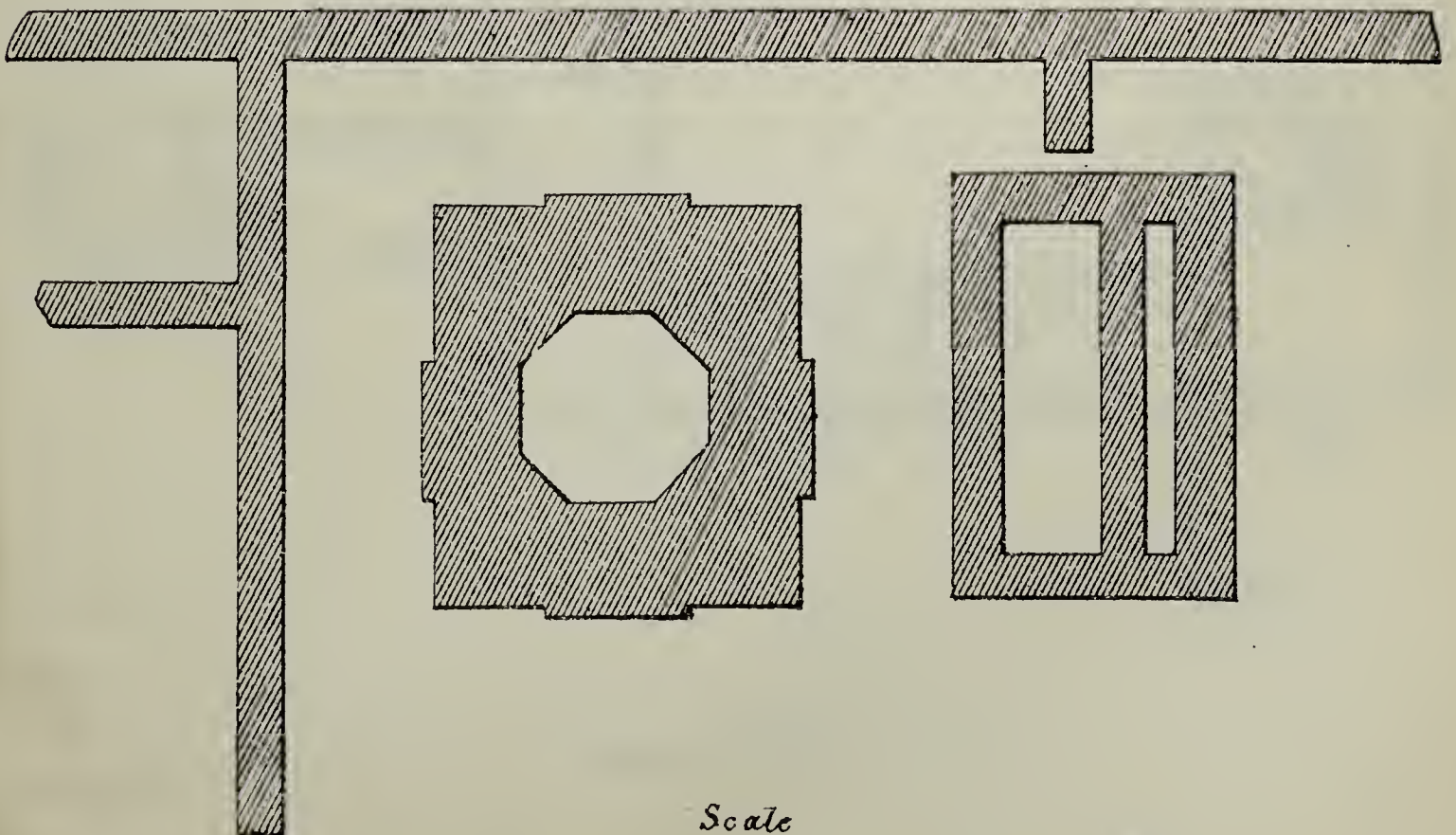
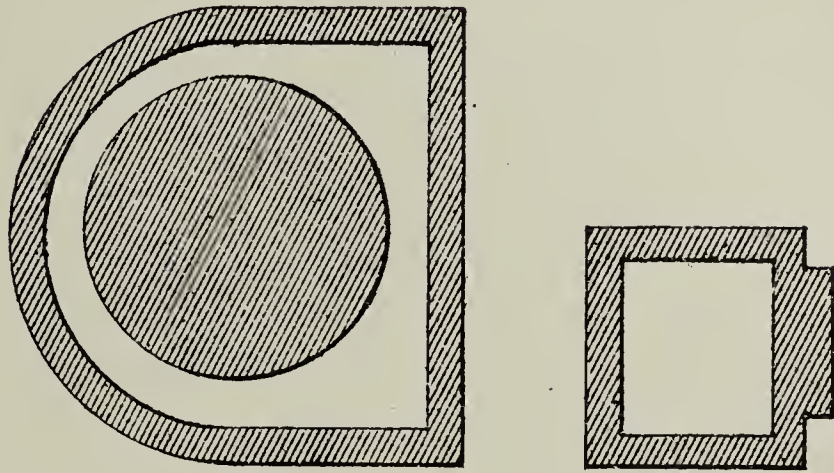


KOSAMBHA KUTI

Building No. 12 and 13 in Sahet

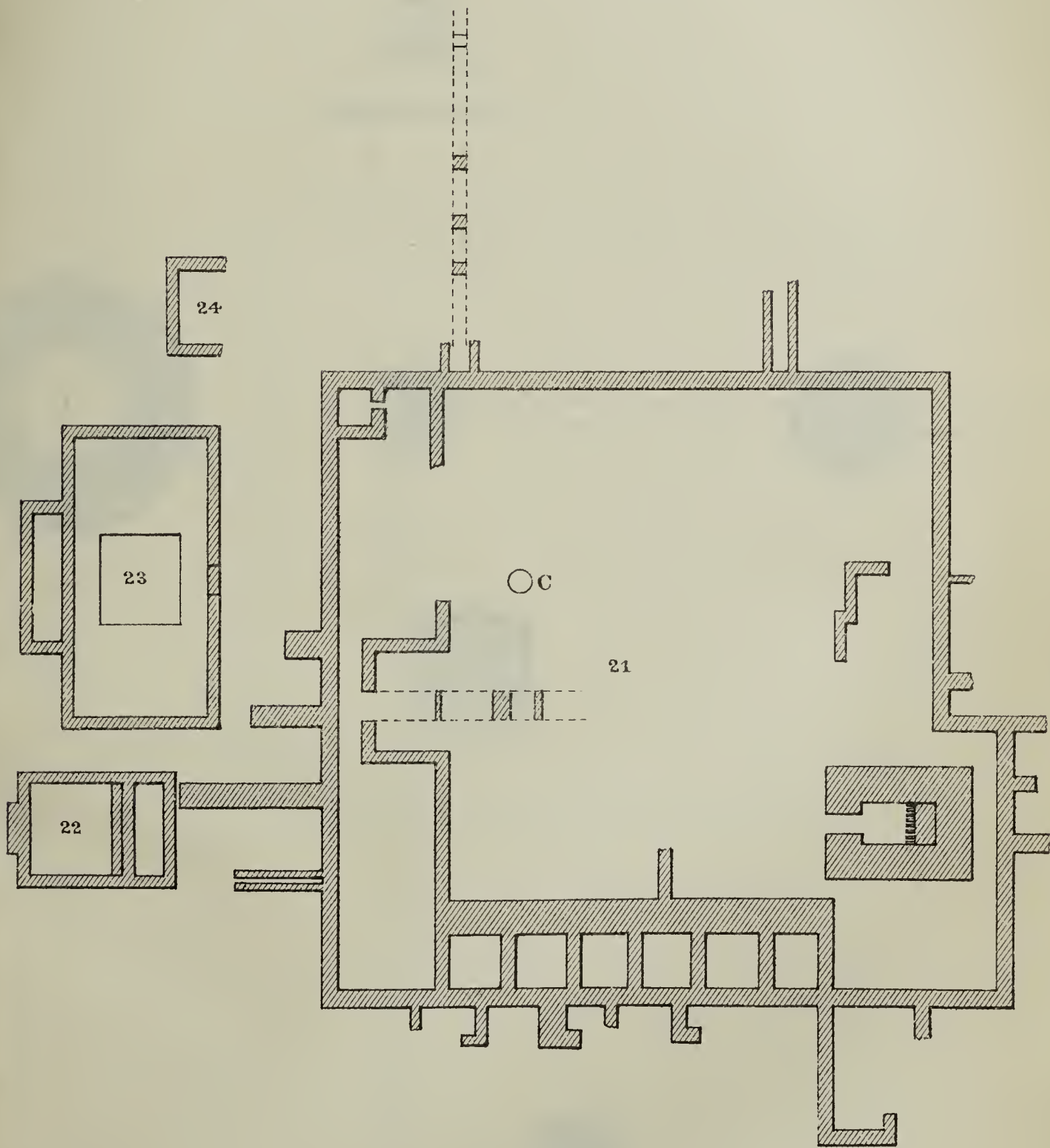


Buildings Nos. 17, 17, 18, and 19 in Sahet



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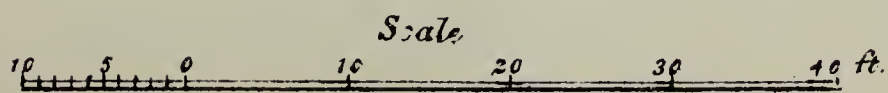
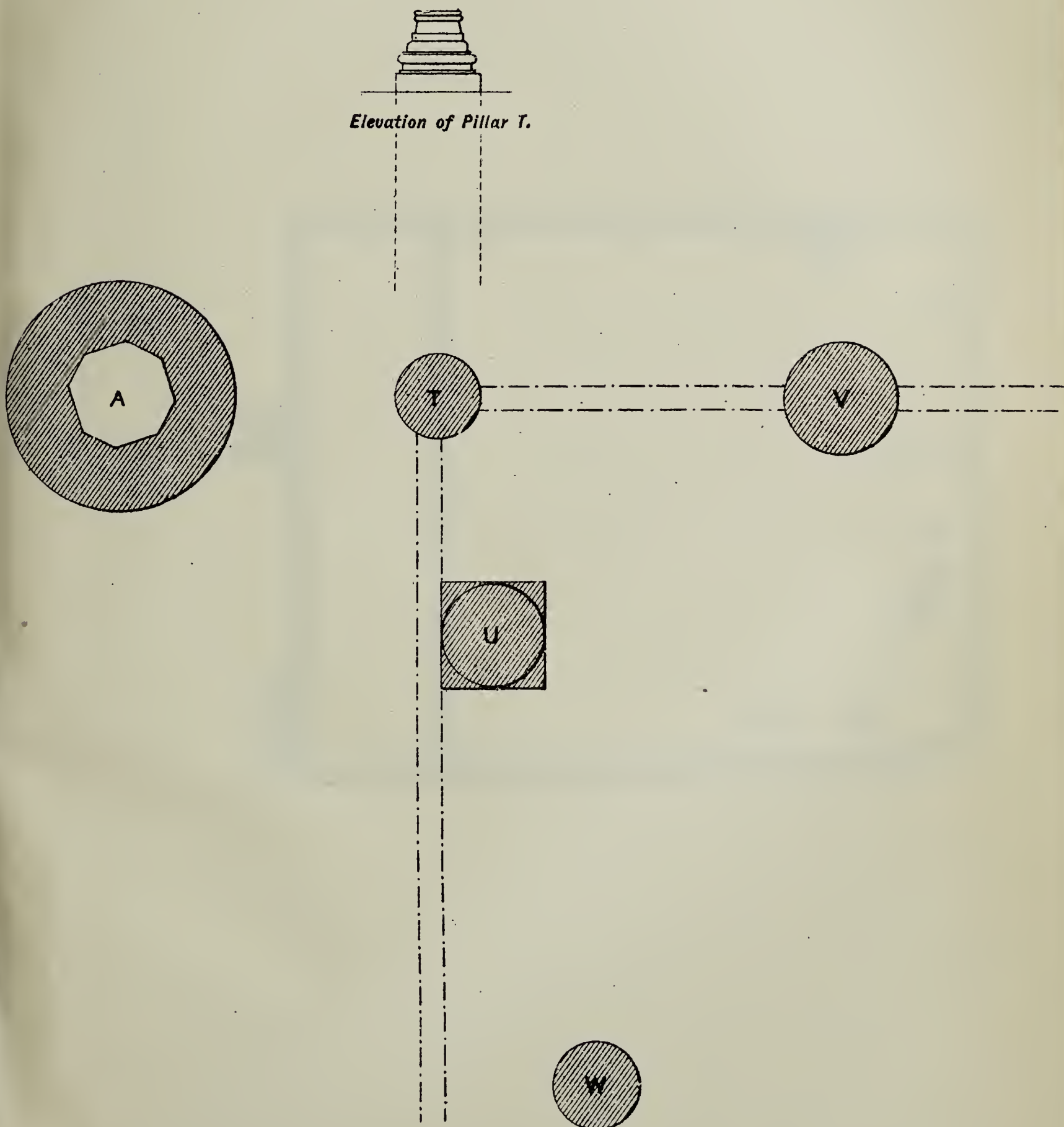
Buildings Nos. 21, 22, 23, and 24 in Sahet.



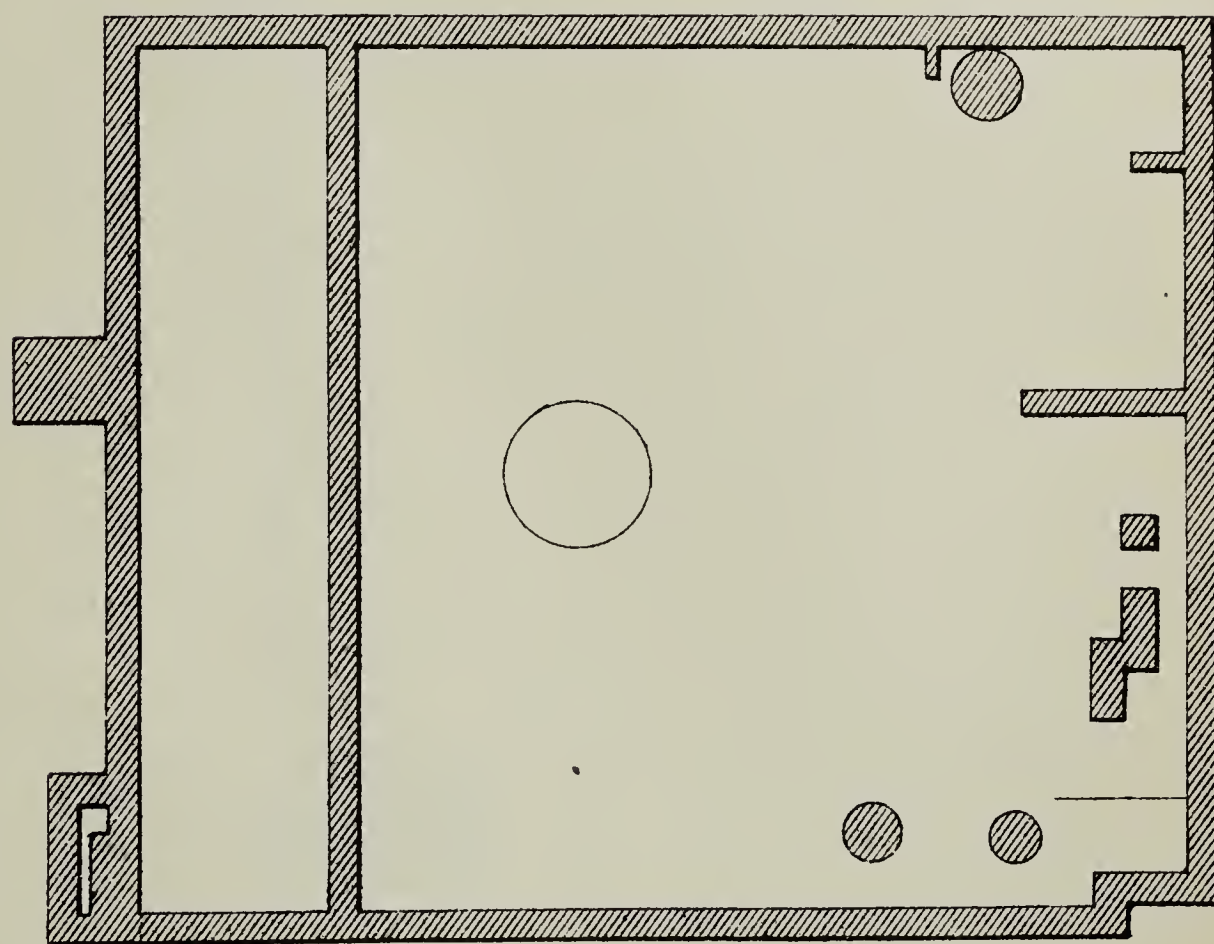
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OCTAGONAL WELL IN SAHET

With adjacent remains



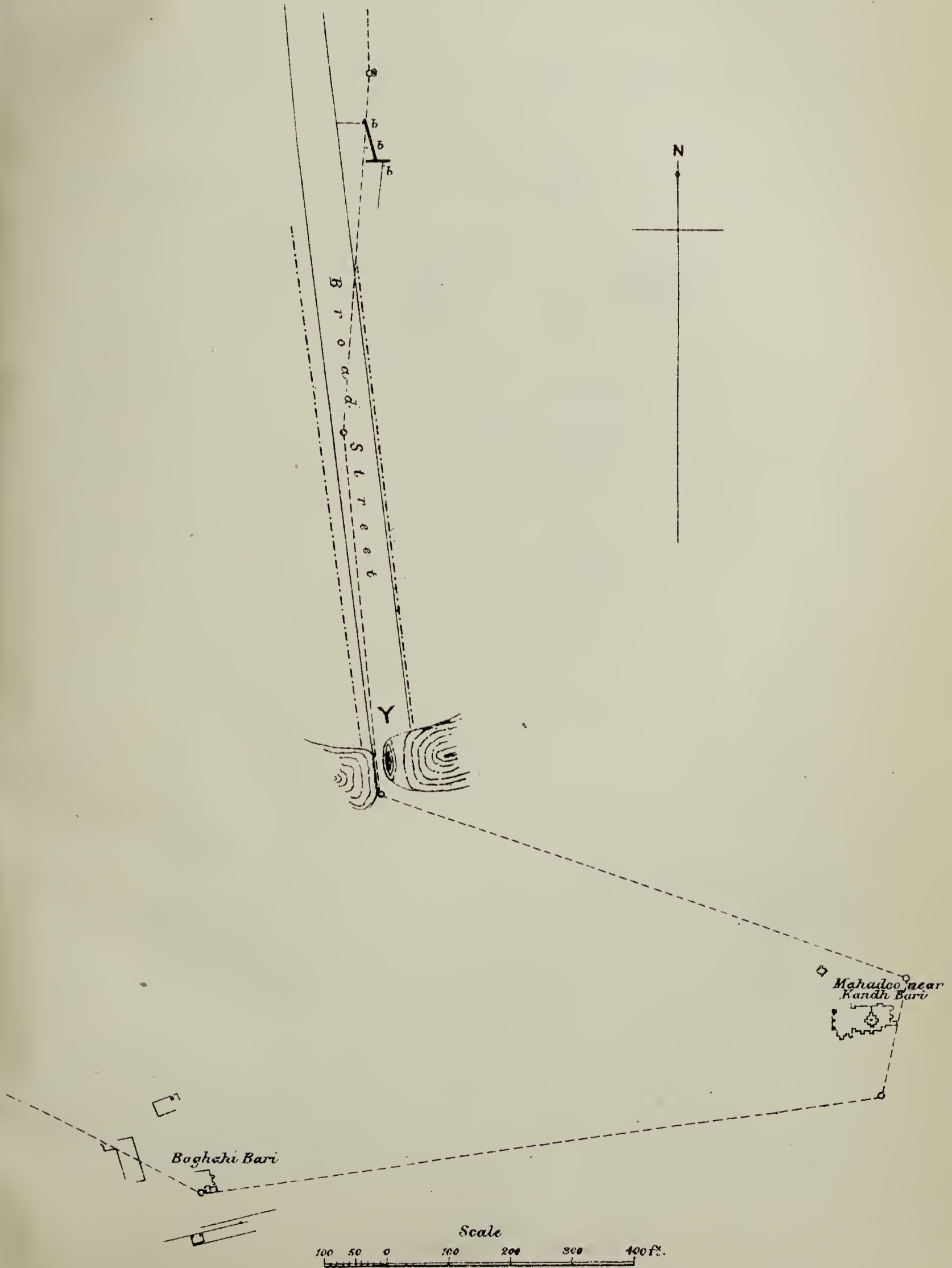
SARIPUTTA'S STUPA.



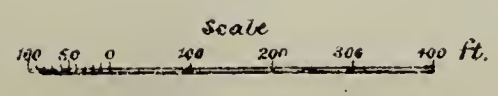
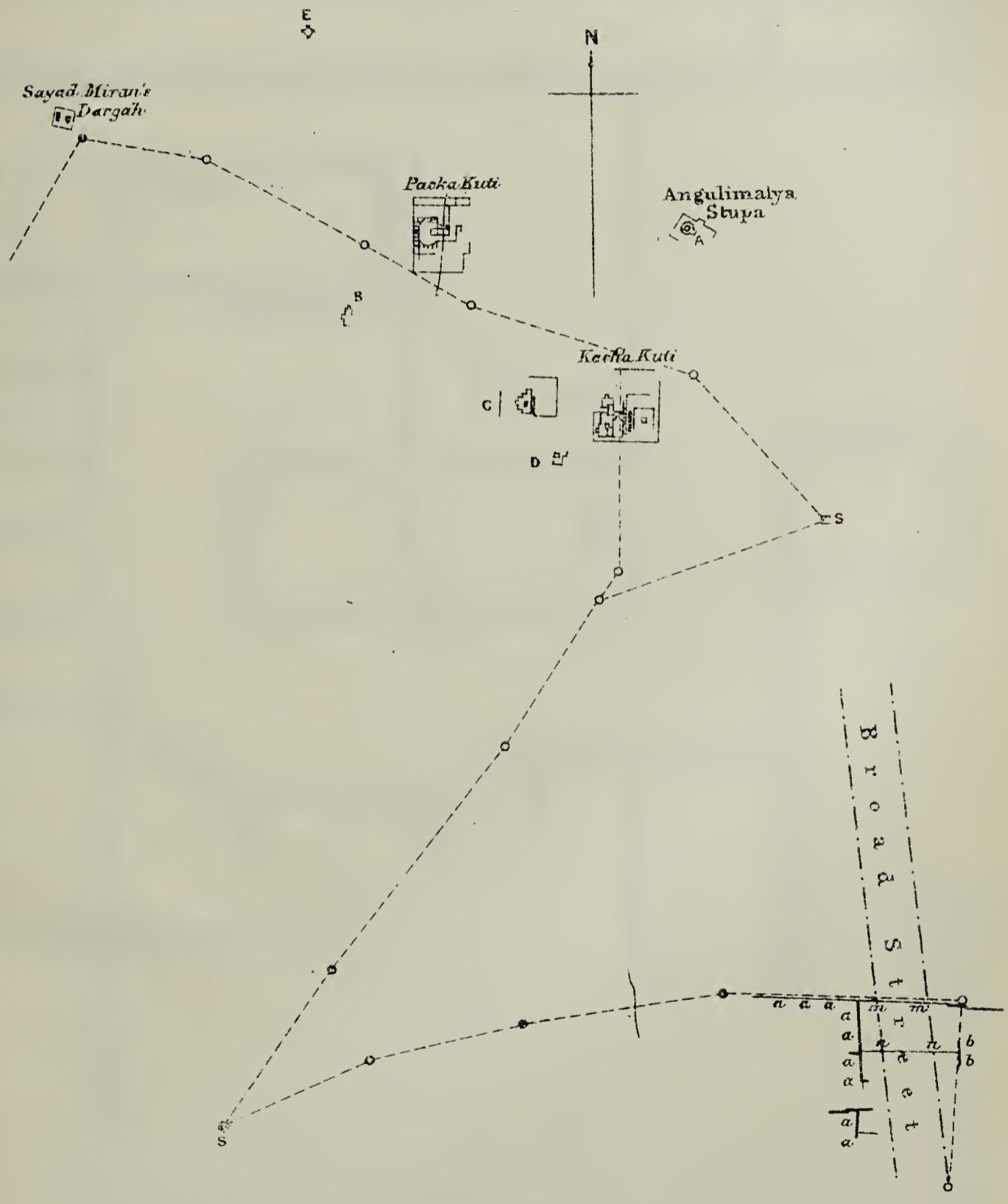
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MAHET SOUTH

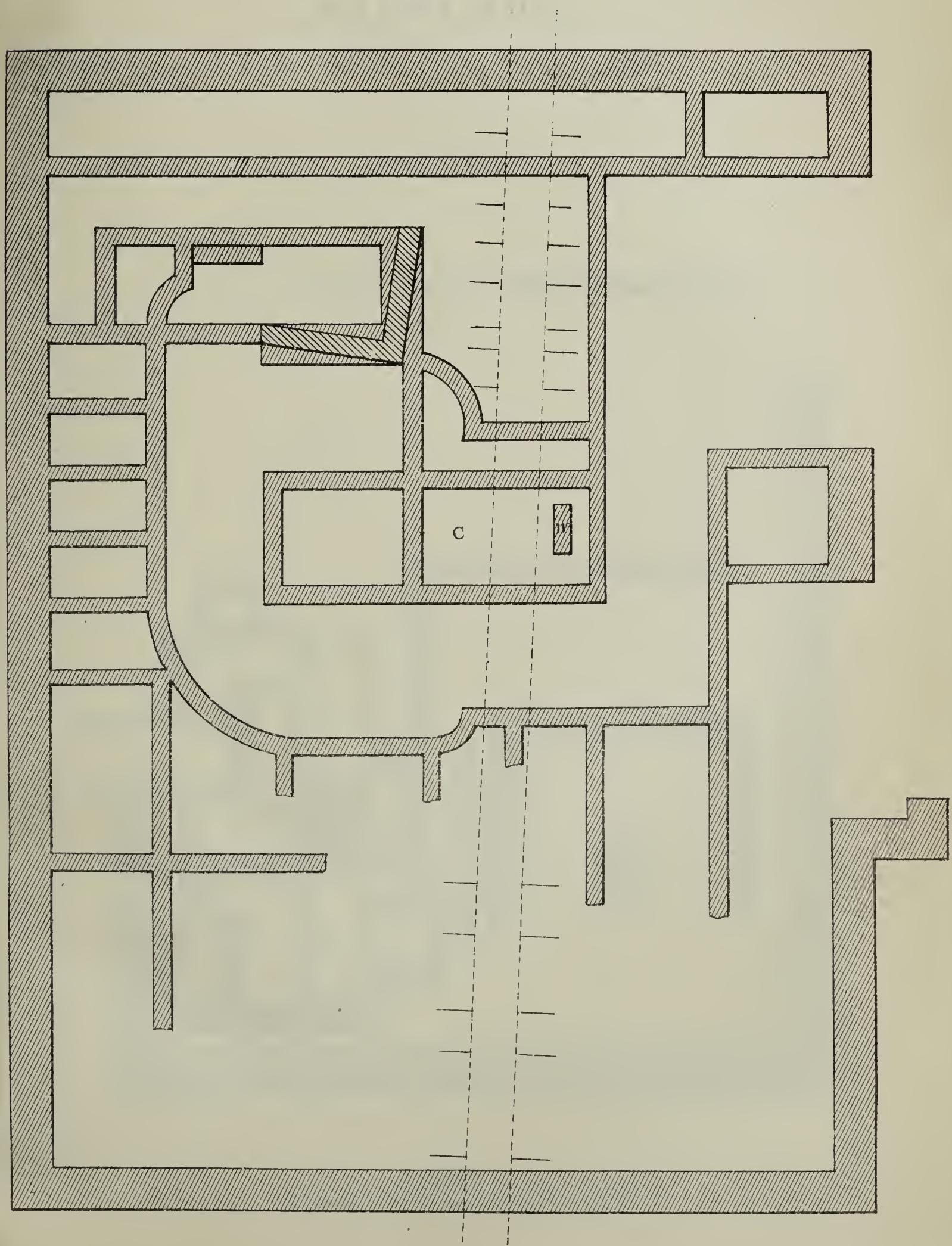
Including Baghahi Bari and Kandh Bari



MAHET EAST

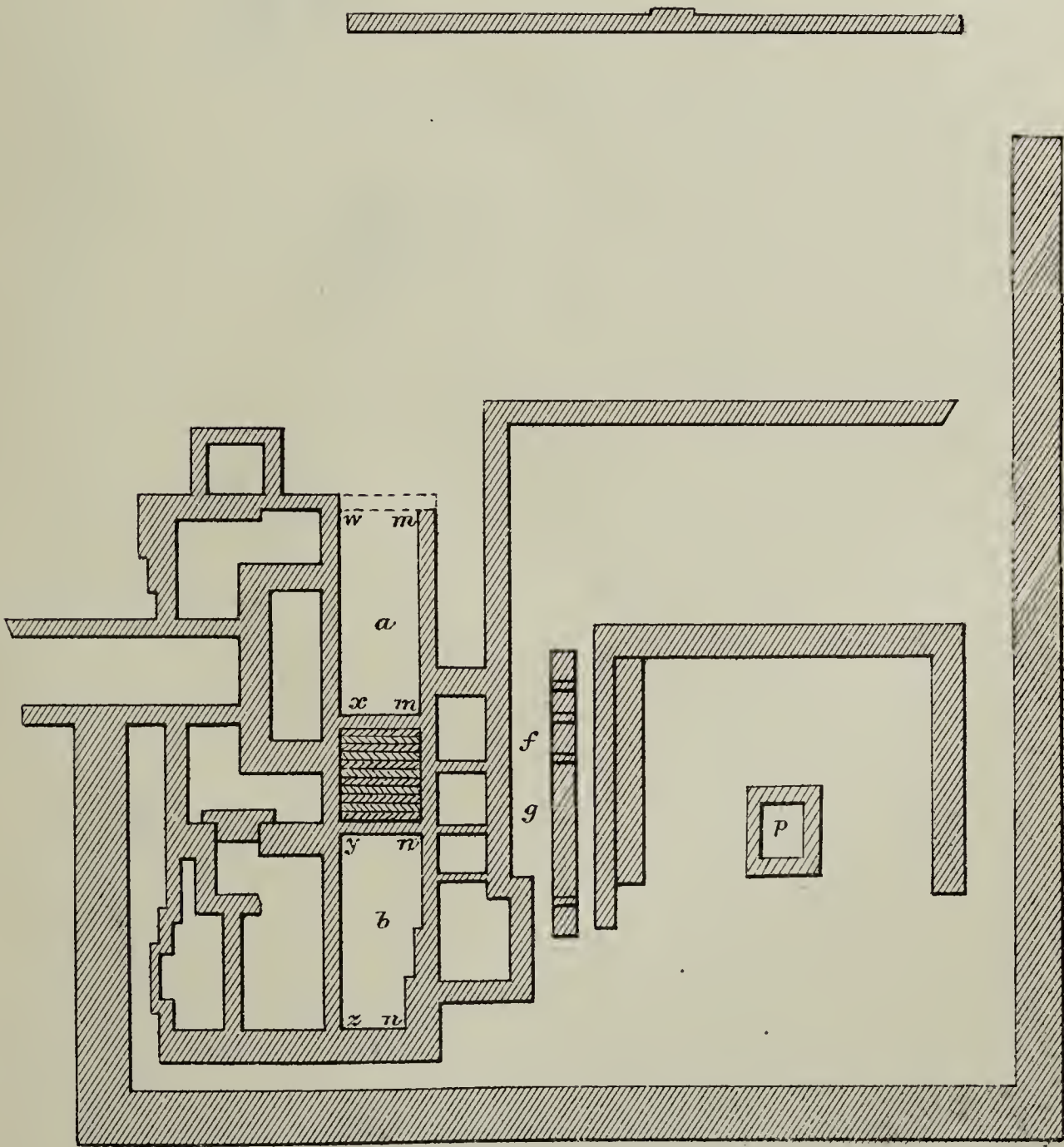


PACKA KUTI.



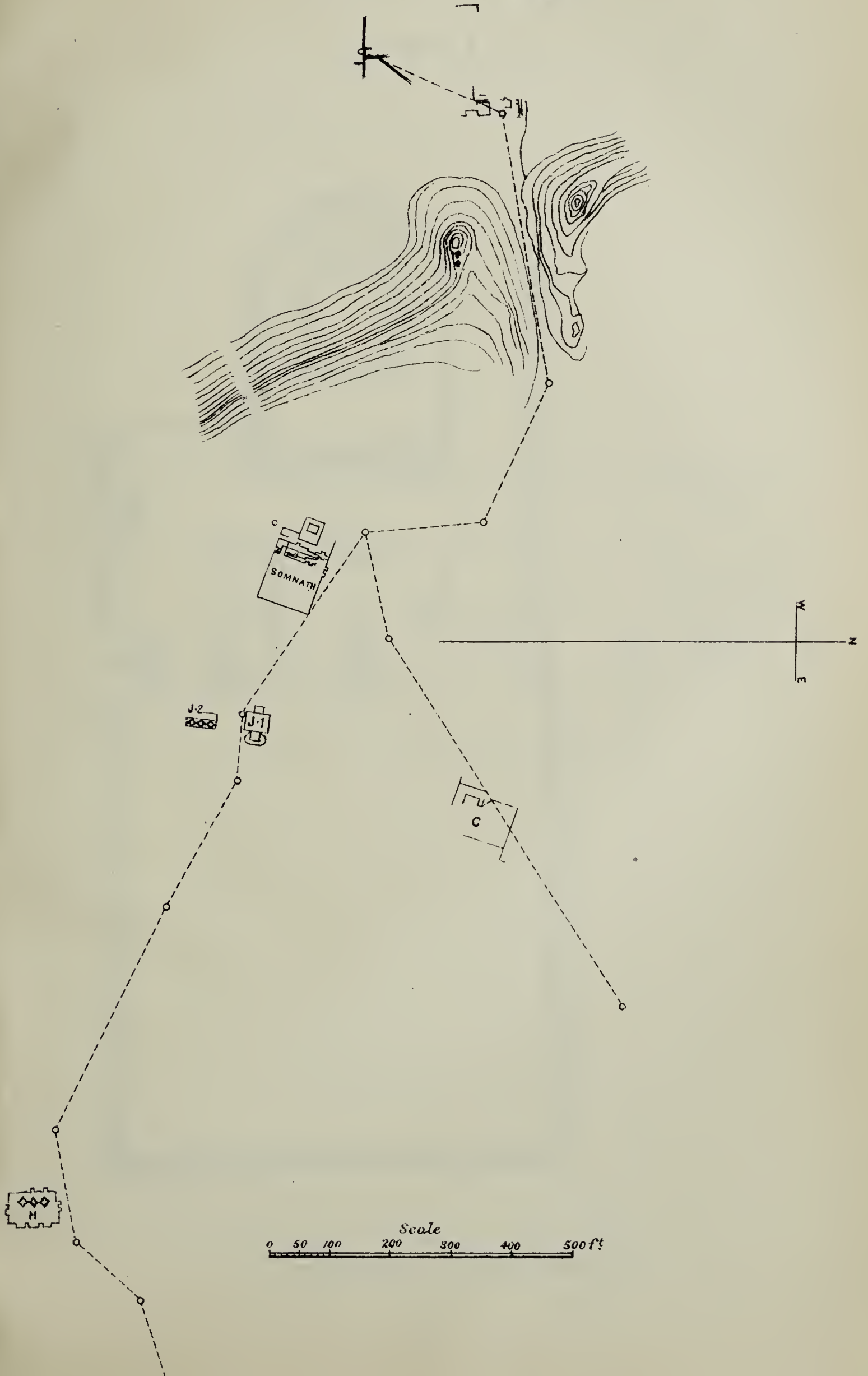
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KACHA KUTI.

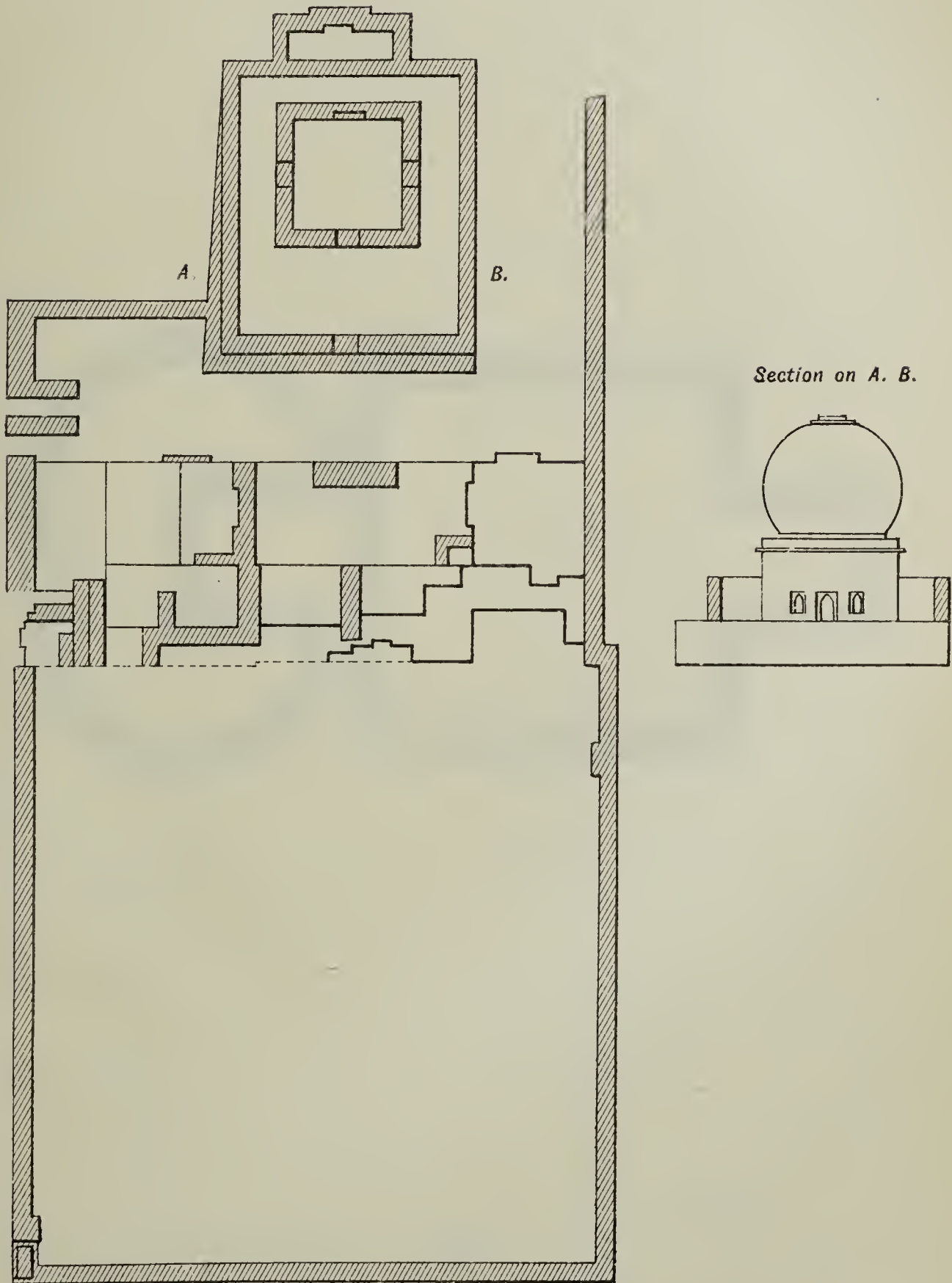


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MAHET WEST.

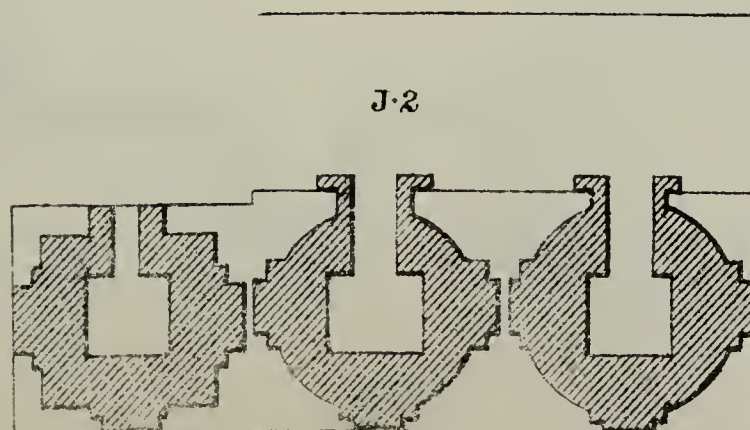
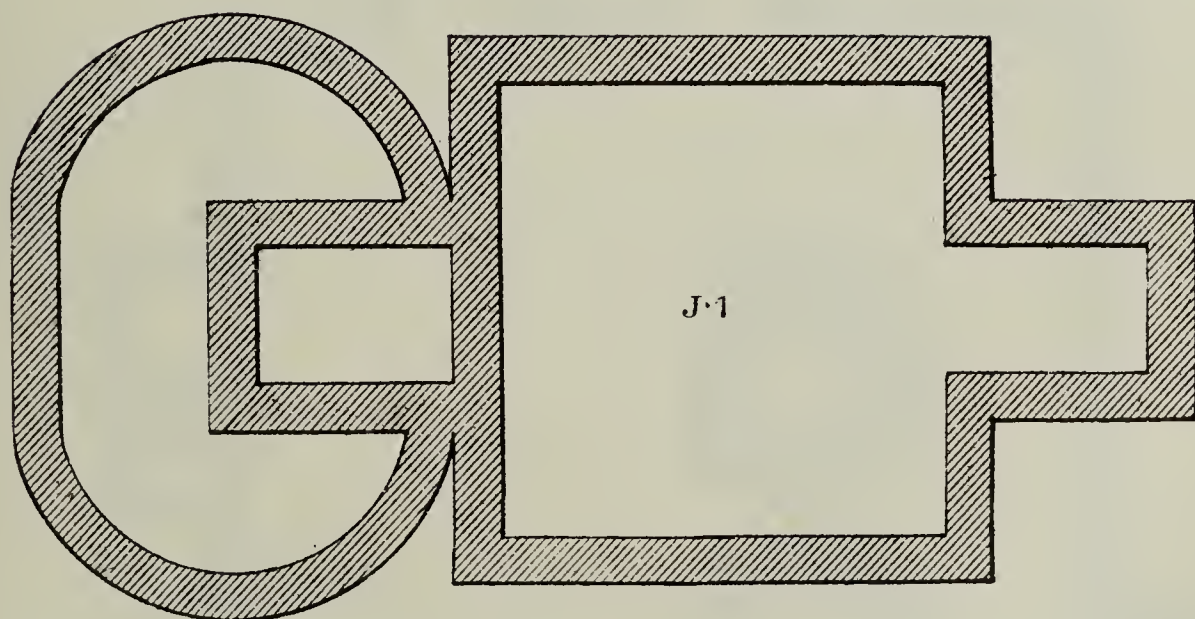


SOMNATH.



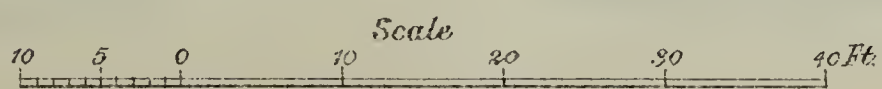
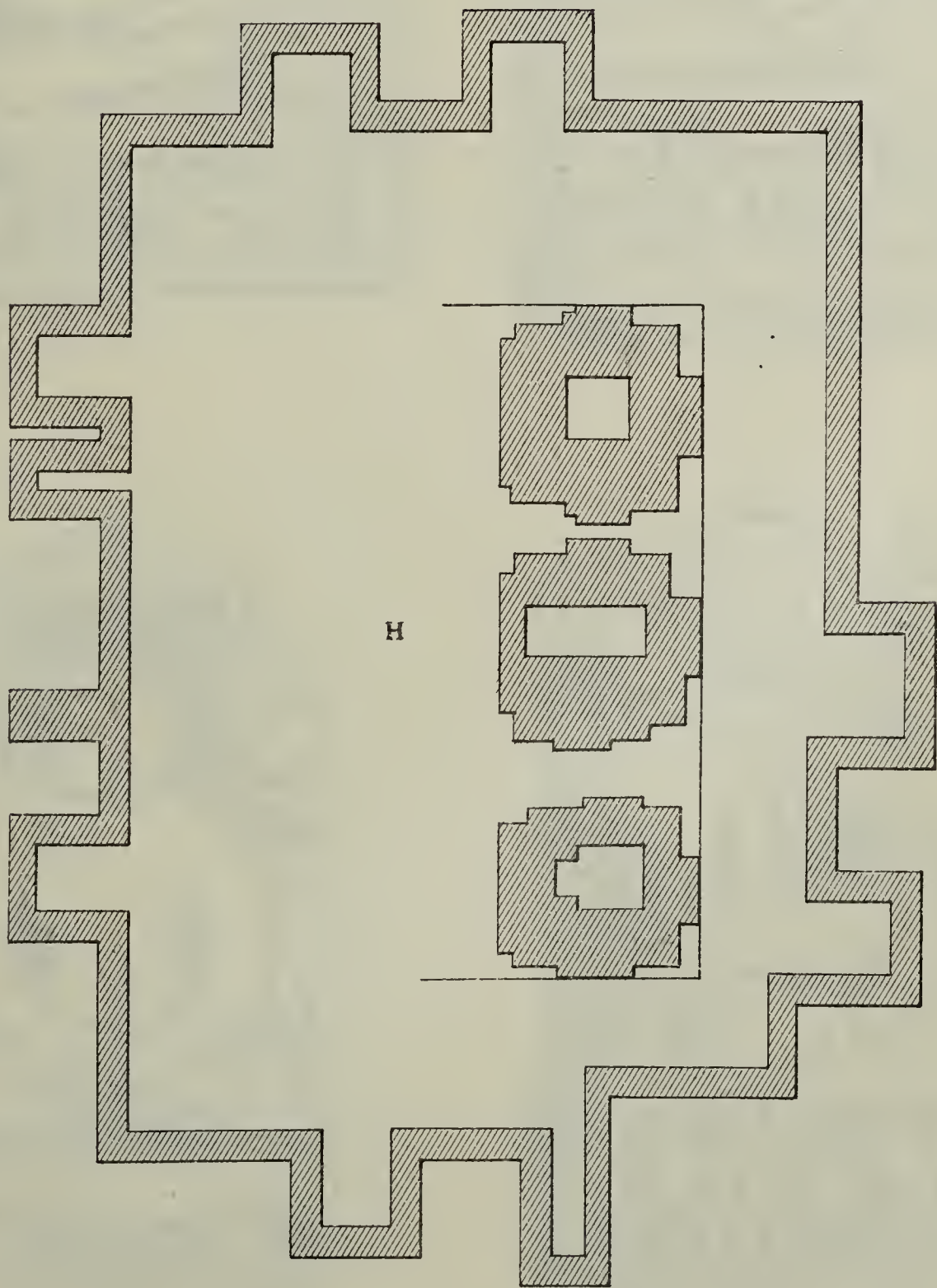
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TWO JAIN TEMPLES.



HINDU TEMPLE.

Marked H in map of Mahet west.





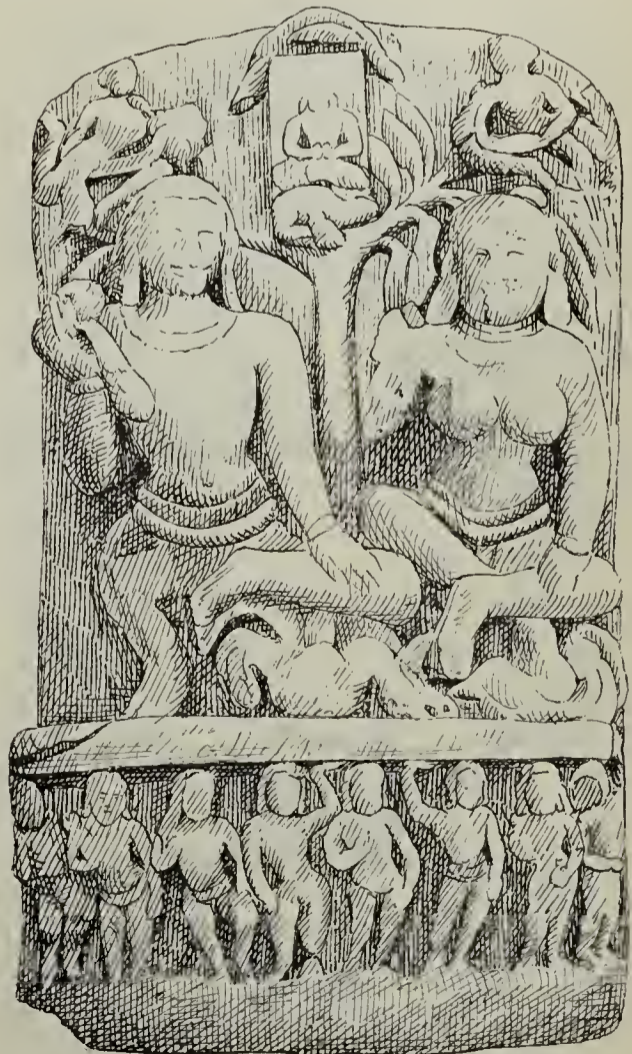
a.



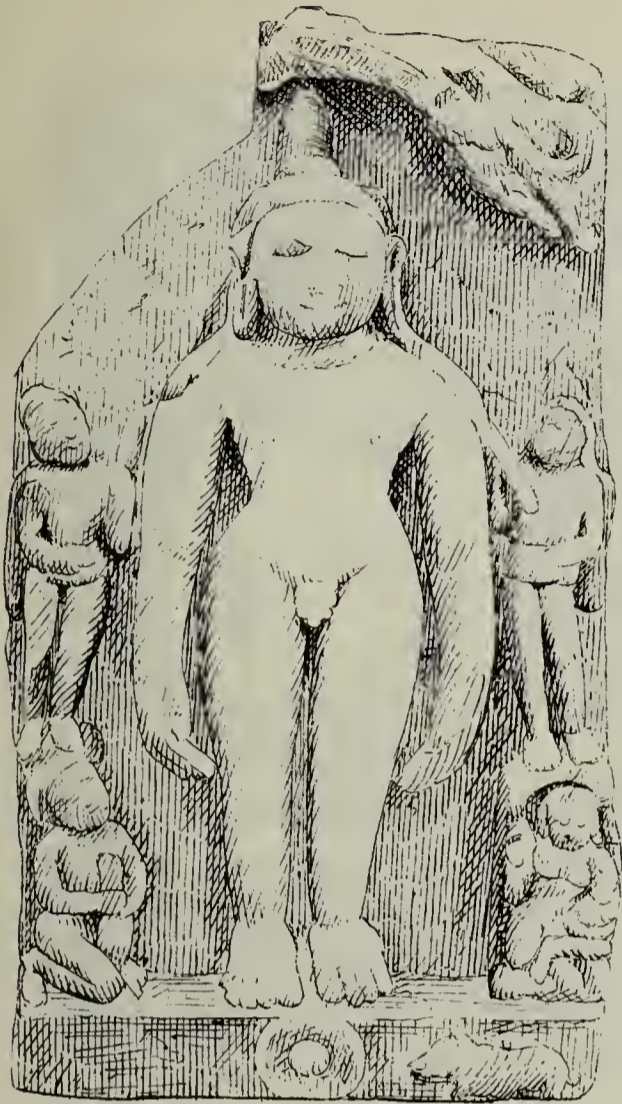
b.



c.



d.



a.



b.



c.



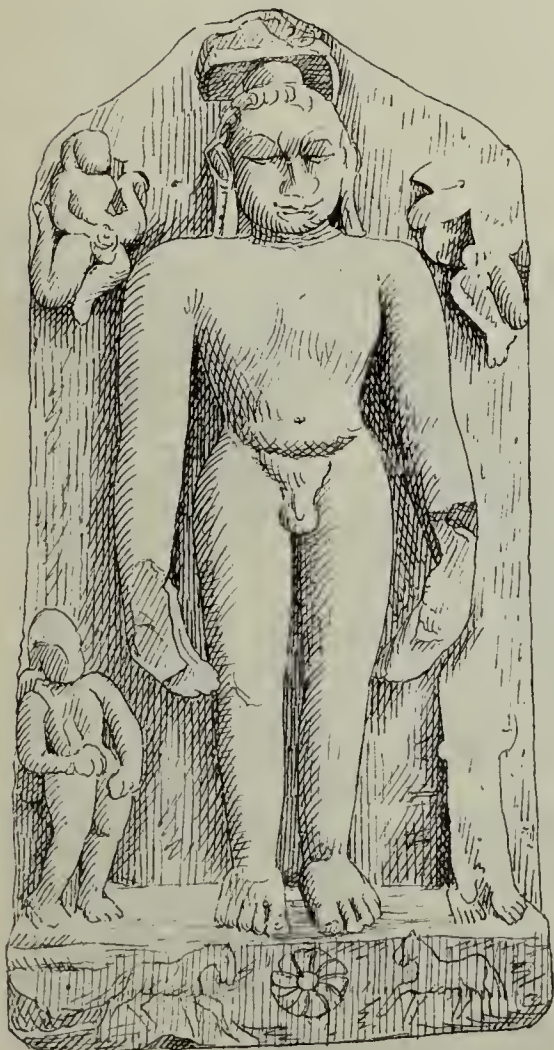
d.



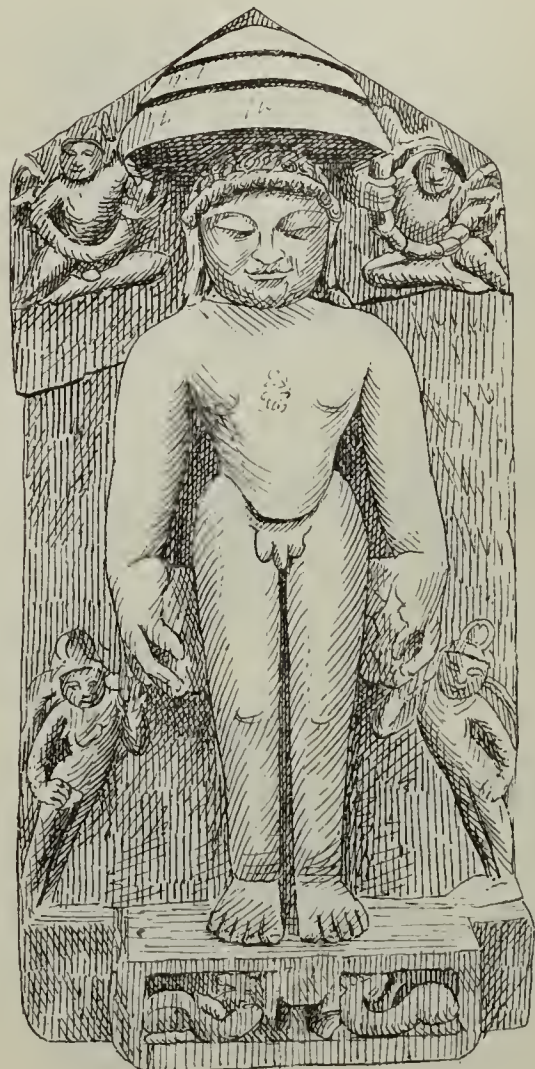
a.



b.



c.



d.



a.



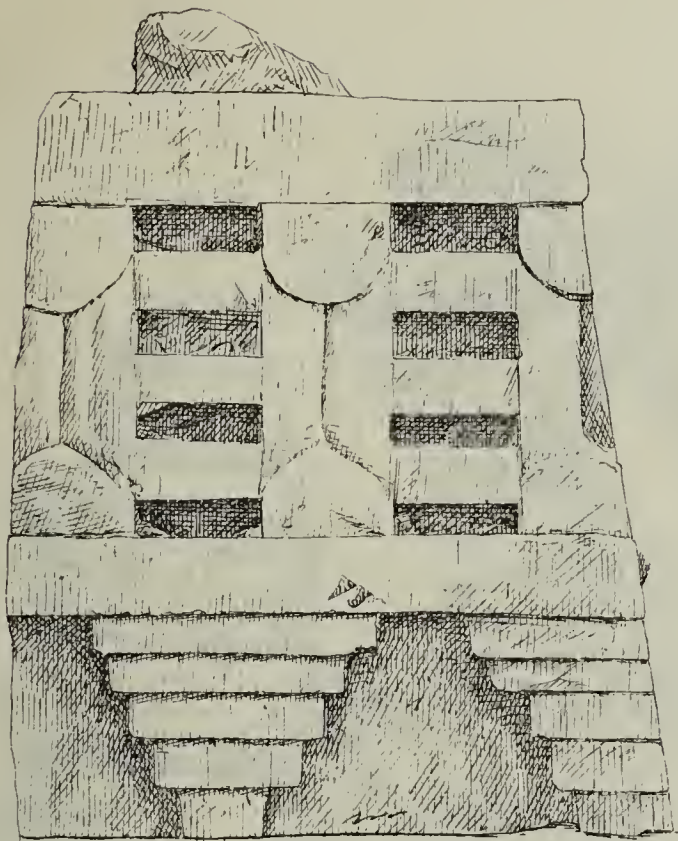
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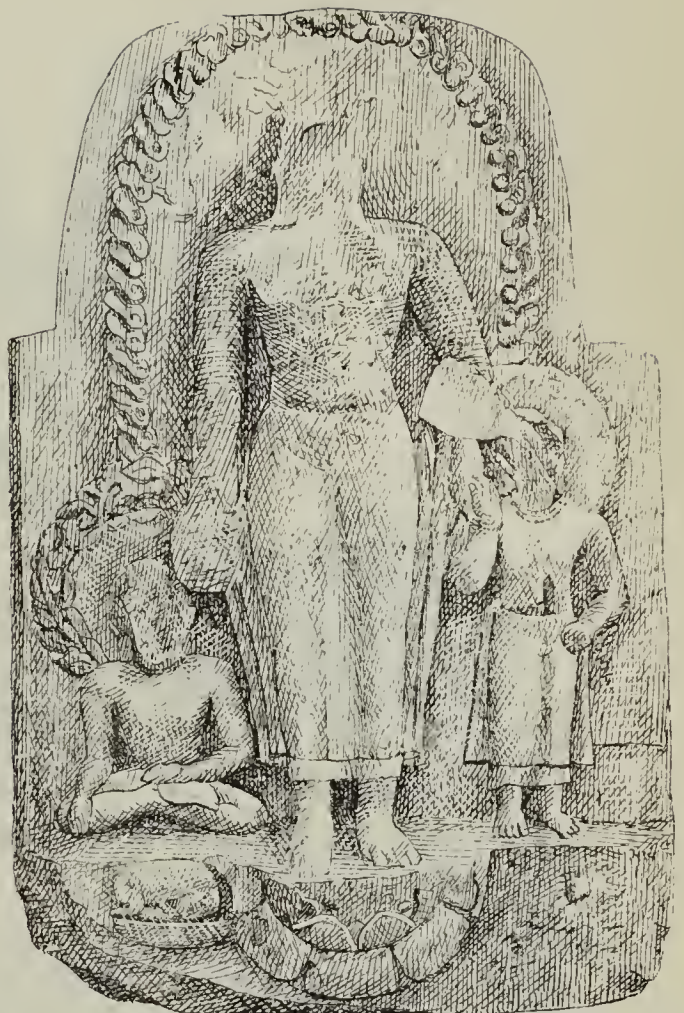
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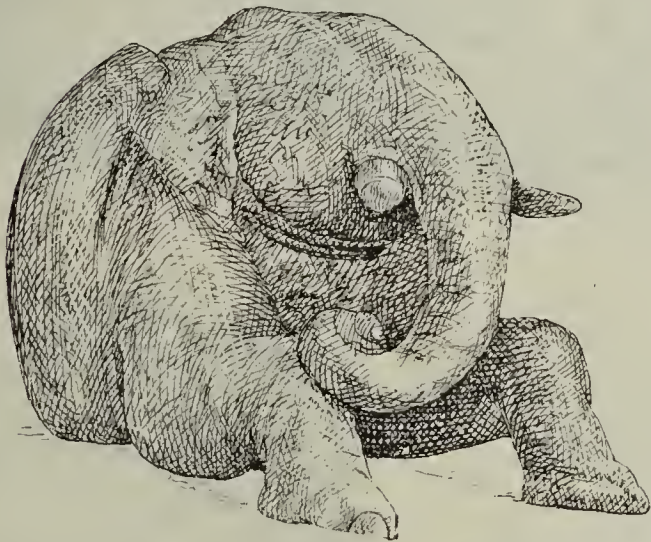
d.



a.



b.



c.



d.



e.



f.



